

THE GORDON CREEDS IN AFGHANISTAN

1839



1878-79



and



edited by William Trousdale

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The Gordon Creeds in Afghanistan, 1839 and 187

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Gordon Creed, Richard John.

American Alpine Club Library

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THE GORDON CREEDS IN AFGHANISTAN

1839 and 1878-79



edited by William Trousdale



BACSA
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Foreword

This is the fourth of a series of books published by BACSA, for BACSA members with a wider public in mind.

These memoirs of Lt-Colonel Henry and Major Richard Gordon Creed -- father and son -- were brought to the attention of BACSA by Elizabeth de Bourbel, a great-niece of the elder Gordon Creed, with the agreement of his great-grandson François H. Heugel of Paris who had inherited them. BACSA is very grateful to both Elizabeth and François.

The special feature of this book is the triple combination of the memoirs as they were written, the delightful illustrations, and the scholarly commentary which brings the text into focus. The commentary has been a labour of love by Dr William Trousdale who is steeped in the history of the Afghan wars, and BACSA owes him a debt of gratitude.

William Trousdale is an archaeologist and a Curator at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. During the past twenty years he has conducted excavations in Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and until recently passed a part of almost every year traveling and excavating in Afghanistan. In the 1970's he directed a major archaeological project in the remote Sistan region of southwestern Afghanistan. His interest in British contacts with Afghanistan was an outgrowth of his archaeological work. Since the early years of the 19th century British officers on military, diplomatic, or boundary demarcation missions to Afghanistan have provided the most detailed information on the geography, routes, and antiquities of the country, and these reports constitute an extremely rich archival source. His own travels have taken Trousdale to almost every place described in the present work.

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge the assistance I have received from friends and colleagues who had special learning on some of the topics in these widely ranging memoirs. Professor Terry Allen, University of Michigan, and Professor Richard Tucker, Oakland University, have both come to my aid in respect to details, and their wisdom has been incorporated into the notes. Mr. Ibrahim Pourhadi of the Library of Congress assisted in the identification of texts and Quranic references. Special thanks is also owed to Mrs. Barbara Taft who hand carried the manuscript from London to Washington and personally delivered it into my eager hands. Mrs. Paula Cardwell, at the Smithsonian Institution, devoted many long days to the final preparation of the manuscript. I am deeply indebted to Elizabeth de Bourbel and François Heugel for their trust in placing these precious family documents into my care, and for supplying additional photographs from the family albums. I hope that my own efforts in the presentation of this new chapter in the history of the frontier will meet with their approbation. Finally, I feel a sense of profound gratitude to Theon and Rosemarie Wilkinson, the moving spirits of BACSA, for their unfailing hospitality, generosity and kindness at all times, in all matters. They are unique souls in that both the living and the dead are happily in their debt.

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Captain R.J. Gordon Creed

Introduction

Whether they loved it, or hated it, or experienced both emotions simultaneously, most of the British soldiers, brought twice into Afghanistan in the 19th century to wage war, found the country fascinating, even compelling. The two British officers — father and son -- whose field notes have been brought together in these memoirs were not exceptional in this regard. Lieutenant (later Colonel) Henry Gordon Creed served with The Army of the Indus in 1838-39, during the early part of the First Afghan War, and his eldest son, Captain (later Major) Richard John Gordon Creed, served with his regiment (17th Leicestershire) during the first extended campaign of the Second Afghan War, from November 1878 till July 1879. In this respect, they joined company with a few of the illustrious fathers and sons who served in both wars (General Sir Abraham Roberts and his son, the Field-Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar), and doubtless many less famous fathers and sons, like Lieutenant (later Colonel) Michael Dawes who kept a diary at Jalalabad during the desperate siege by Akbar Khan in the winter of 1841-42, and his son George who served in the Second Afghan War and fell victim to the virulent cholera epidemic among the British and Native troops in the spring of 1879, an epidemic from which, by good fortune, the compiler of the present memoirs was spared.

Afghanistan and the northwest frontier of India were potent sources of anxiety for the British and prominent military concerns throughout the 19th century, and indeed almost to the last day of the Indian empire. Invasion of the subcontinent by warlike tribes or nations emanating from Afghanistan had happened many times in recorded history, and the truculent, unsubmissive, and in the British view, politically unstable peoples of that country posed a constant threat to the more peaceful and settled life in India. To this natural concern for secure frontiers were the added worries in the early 19th century about Napoleon's Asian designs and later, and a source of much more enduring apprehension, the menace posed by the gradual southern expansion of Russian dominion in Asia. Before both the First and the Second Afghan Wars Russian diplomatic missions were received by the Afghan Amir at Kabul, and there was genuine concern that the Tsar might gain political and military supremacy in a region vital to the security of India. Neither war was precipitated by a single diplomatic or military incident; both were the result of extensive calculation and determination to define and pacify the frontier.

The present memoirs by two participants in these wars do not constitute a history of the wars. Rather are they relations of personal experiences in the two wars and, especially with regard to the Second Afghan War, reflections only on the larger diplomatic issues. The nature of the memoirs is accurately reflected in the title assigned them by the younger Gordon Creed:

ON AFGHANISTAN, ITS MINERALS, PRODUCTIONS, PEOPLE, &c,
&
TUMULI, Religion, and want of RAILWAYS

Of the original field notes upon which the memoirs are based, the heirs

have no knowledge. They may have been discarded after use by the compiler. Except in a few instances when Richard included direct quotations from his father's notes, distinction between texts is unclear and in the main it is reasonable to regard Richard as principal author. Since Henry and Richard visited distinctly different parts of Afghanistan, I have assumed that details pertaining to the route followed by Henry were taken primarily from his notes, though there is ample evidence that Richard also had read about the campaigns of the First Afghan War and provided additional data.

Henry Gordon Creed was a cadet at the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary (Addiscombe) 1826-28, and shortly afterwards embarked for India where he joined the horse batteries of the Royal Artillery attached to the Bombay Military Establishment. A number of officers, highly distinguished in the military history of the Indian frontier, belonged to this same Royal Artillery detachment, among them Eldred Pottinger and John Jacob who in their time had also been Addiscombe cadets. By 1837 Henry Gordon Creed held the rank of Lieutenant, and in this same year and the next he was on duty in Sind. The Army of the Indus was formed in 1838, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Fane, and in the spring of 1839, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, it marched into southern Afghanistan, the more direct Punjab route to the Khyber Pass through the Sikh Kingdom having been denied it by the ruler Ranjit Singh. From Sukkur on the Indus River, the troops marched across the bleak and torrid plain of Upper Sind, to the Bolan Pass and on to Quetta in Baluchistan. From Quetta the troops crossed the broad valley of Pishin, negotiated with great difficulty the steep Khojak Pass, and in April occupied the city of Kandahar. After a rest which in fact brought added debility through disease, the troops marched toward Kabul, encountering little resistance. The city of Ghazni was stormed on the 23rd July, and the army entered Kabul on the 7th August. The following month Henry Gordon Creed, now as part of a force under Major-General Sir Thomas Willshire, commenced the return march, in part by a different route, to Baluchistan where, in November, they stormed the citadel of Kalat and killed Mehrab Khan whose followers had preyed upon The Army of the Indus the preceding spring. Henry commanded the guns on this occasion.

The first Afghan War was far from over; it dragged on for another two and a half years and ended in the notorious massacre of the British and Indian forces retreating from Kabul in January 1842, and finally in the defeat of the Afghans by the Avenging Army under General George Pollock in the summer of 1842. Lieutenant Creed did not participate in the later campaigns and major disasters of the war, but he saw much of the country. His observations, as later composed by his son, are contained in the long first chapter of the memoirs, and I have attempted to identify in the notes to the text, which appear at the end of the memoirs (beginning on p. 145), those segments which were likely derived from his notes.

The Second Afghan War falls into two distinct phases. The first commenced in November 1878 and ended with the peace treaty signed at Gandamak in May 1879. The following month the British and Indian forces withdrew from most of the territory they had taken, and in July a diplomatic mission took up residence in Kabul. Some ambiguity exists as to whether the government in India was entirely satisfied with this resolution to hostilities. Certainly some of the military leaders believed the decisive defeat they wished to inflict upon Afghanistan had not been achieved, and that the desired political and strategic goals of the war had not been adequately realized. The issue became academic soon enough, for in early September 1879 the Kabul Embassy was massacred by the Afghans, and the longer phase of the war was launched.

The 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment was engaged in the first phase of the war only, and Captain Richard Gordon Creed's notes and observations were made during this period. Matter relating to subsequent events derives from his

reading between his service in the war and his compilation of the memoirs a decade later.

The combined memoirs, as they presently exist, are both chronological and anecdotal in nature. The chronology is haphazard and eccentric, and while it might have been possible to reorganize the text along strictly chronological lines for easier reading, this would have entailed substantial alterations to the text and elimination of much of the author's personal style reflective of the manner in which the work was compiled. For these reasons, I elected to maintain the integrity of the text insofar as possible, and to supply the chronological touchstones both within the body of the text and in the notes. Basically the order of the text is thus:

Chapter 1: Matter pertaining to the First Afghan War, based on Henry Gordon Creed's notes, with observations and additions by Richard; from the middle of the chapter onward, events and military actions of the Second Afghan War during the spring of 1879 are described.

Chapter 2: Signing of the Treaty at Gandamak in May 1879, and retirement of the British and Indian forces from most of the occupied territory; beginning on p. 40, the author describes the opening actions of the war during the autumn of 1878, with considerable detail on the battles.

Chapter 3: Continuation of the autumn and winter campaigns.

Chapter 4: Observations on agricultural and industrial products of Afghanistan.

Chapter 5: Observations on tribes, customs, and society; excursions and related topics.

Chapter 6: Again actions in the spring of 1879, and various anecdotes of the campaign.

Chapter 7: Observations on the fauna, more anecdotes, religion, customs, productions, crafts; station duty at the conclusion of the first phase of the war; political and military observations; return to India and thoughts on future diplomacy and military strategy.

The above is a rough and general summary only of the contents; the digressive nature doubtless reflects the method of composition over a period of time. Richard Gordon Creed continued to serve with the Leicestershire Regiment for a decade after the concluding military actions of the Second Afghan War -- the humiliating defeat at Maiwand, followed by the spectacular victory of General Roberts's force at Kandahar only a month later. Creed took part in the Burma expedition of 1887-89 (medal with clasp), and two years later he retired from the army at the early age of thirty-eight. Probably he did not immediately commence the compilation of the present book. His reference on the first page to the memoirs of Lord Roberts suggests he may not have begun his work until after these were published in January 1897. He has left us more concrete evidence of the date he completed his work, in the form of his initials and the date February 13, 1899, scarcely three years before his untimely death on March 7, 1902, at the age of forty-nine.

The manuscript consists of 239 lightly ruled pages written in a clear hand. Editorial changes have been restricted to those which seemed necessary to a present-day reading. Toponyms, variously and at times eccentrically spelled, have whenever possible been regularized in accordance with those employed in the official history of the war. An exception has been made in the case of Kabul; in the early part of the manuscript the spelling "Caboul" most frequently appears, and later, in those sections dealing with the period of the Second Afghan War, "Caubul" generally is used. Both spellings have been retained since they reflect the prevalent pronunciation of their

respective times.

The division into chapters appears to be rather arbitrary and may be indicative of interrupted periods of work on the text. I have inserted a few supplementary breaks in the text at places of abrupt change in subject or chronology. The remaining obvious awkwardness in composition, episodic meanderings rich in observed detail, and occasional ambiguities, reflect accurately, I believe, the style of the original manuscript. While many of the observations made by the Creeds add no significant new information to that already known about certain events, places, and personages, other observations on the country of Afghanistan, its peoples, customs, folklore, etc., are unique contributions to the literature of the frontier and beyond.

The manuscript is illustrated with ink drawings and watercolors, executed on separate pieces of paper and inserted at appropriate places in the text. These illustrations have been placed as close as possible to their original position in the text. Though the style of drawing and use of color exhibit variation in technique, I believe the sketches to be the work of the younger Creed. The original of the map on p. 3 is ascribed to Colonel Henry Gordon Creed, but it contains place names along the route between Kabul and Peshawar which could only have been added by his son. Some of the drawings of places not visited by Richard may be based on field sketches by his father, but certainty in this regard is lacking. At least one of these sketches, that of the minarets at Ghazni on p. 6, seems to be based on a published lithograph done by another participant in the First Afghan War. Several of the drawings are executed in subtle colored inks and washes which impart qualities less apparent in the black and white reproductions here. The colors have been noted in the List of Illustrations.

Many of the participants in the Afghan wars wrote fascinating accounts of those times and of their personal roles in those dramas. Most of these were published soon after the events they describe, and thus constituted important sources for the histories of those wars composed long ago. The Gordon Creed memoirs, now published a century and more after the events which engendered them, in consequence are less important for what they reveal of the routes taken by the armies, or for what they report on the battles fought. Their more enduring value rests in the careful observations of places, human activities, industries, and in their descriptions of monuments, and of life in the camps of armies on campaign, marked by intimacy, warmth, and humor. In this sense, they do not duplicate those earlier memoirs, but contribute valuable additions to our knowledge of British and Afghan life beyond the northwest frontier in an ancient land now undergoing an unprecedented upheaval and destruction of its traditional society, one which the earlier wars could hardly have effected, and their significance with respect to those shattered traditions will certainly become more meaningful and valuable in the years to come.

Chapter One

The Military History of the Afghan war of 1878-79-80 has been so ably recorded by the pens of Sir Frederick Roberts, Mr. H. Hensman, Mr. Archibald Forbes, and others, that it would be useless and tiresome to revert to a subject which has almost passed from the memory of the general reader. (1) I therefore do not intend to enter very much into details either as to Military events or personal adventures; but the country visited by our troops was of so peculiar a formation, with several Cities of such great historical claims to our interest, that in giving the following sketches, most of which were made by the late Colonel Henry Creed, RA (and which as far as I know have not been drawn by others), I trust I may be pardoned for giving a description of some of the spots visited, and for touching on the subject of the hill country to the West of the river Indus to Caboul, and from thence [down] to Peshawar.

Previous to the war of 1878-79-80 very little was known about these districts of Afghanistan. Sir H. Pottinger, early in the present century, had passed through the Southern part of Baloochistan into Persia in the disguise of a native merchant; (2) but tho' the account of his arduous journey is extremely valuable, still his route from near the Western mouth of the Indus, being almost directly in a North Westerly direction, did not pass near the mountainous districts to the North. Sir Alexander Burnes, it is true, traversed the country a few years previous to 1838, but unfortunately he was not an Artist, and his attention was principally directed to the political state of the country. (3) During the 1st Afghan War the Officers of the Qr.Mr.Genrl. Dept. and Engineers were provided with no scientific instruments but merely the common ones for Surveying; the Officers Commanding Brigades during this last war had to depend on their own resources for information regarding the country and its productions. The accompanying Map of the country was made by Colonel Henry Creed, RA, and, tho' not pretending to be exact as a Trigonometrical Survey, is sufficiently so for the purposes I have in view, viz., of giving a general idea of the Country. (4)

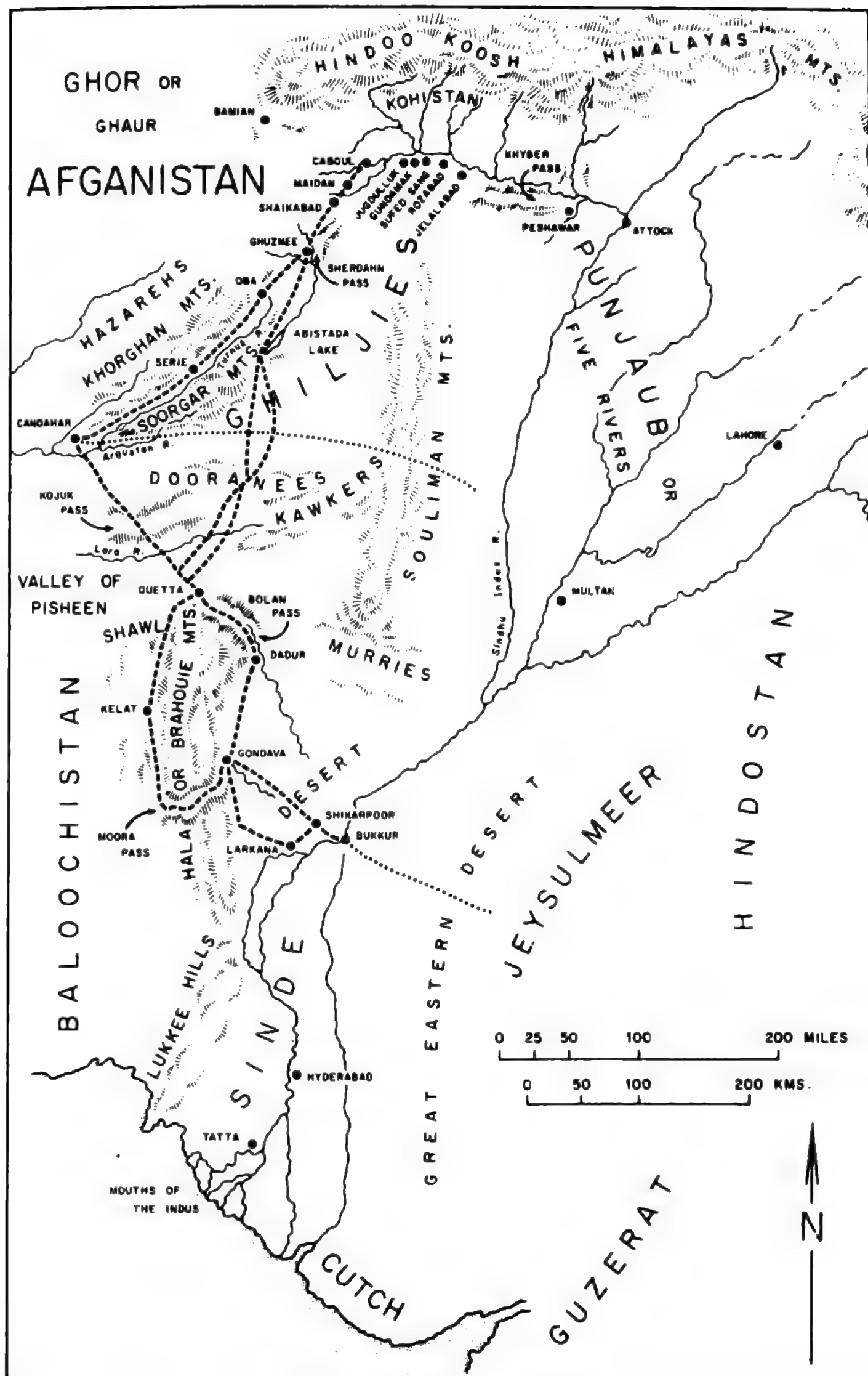
It will be observed that a range of mountains running nearly from North to South bounds the course of the Indus to the West along its entire length. This range is in fact a continuation, or sooner Spur, of the Himalayas and Hindoo Koosh, the loftiest peak being the Tuckt-i-Souliman [Takht-i Sulaiman]. It next assumes the name of the Brahouie [Brahui] Mountains, and towards the extreme South that of Lukker hills which gradually decrease in elevation till they terminate at the Indian Ocean. (5) But it must not be supposed that this is a mere chain of Mountains; it is in fact only the commencement, or boundary, of a vast elevated Mountainous region which extends to the West, as far as Persia. This region is intersected by numerous ranges of rugged hills from which several considerable rivers carry off the water and melted snow. The mountain torrents in the course of ages have also worn their way through the rock, and have thus formed the stupendous passes by which Afghanistan is approached from the lower plains of India. (6) In one instance, however, that of the Ghuznee river, its course is completely blocked up by mountains and a fine lake is consequently formed. (7) Again, at the extreme S.W. of Afghanistan, the rivers seem to be lost in

salt marshes, or sandy deserts, and to not reach the sea. (8) The elevated valleys between these chains of mountains are very fertile, enjoying a northern climate, the level of many being 7 or 8,000 feet above the sea.

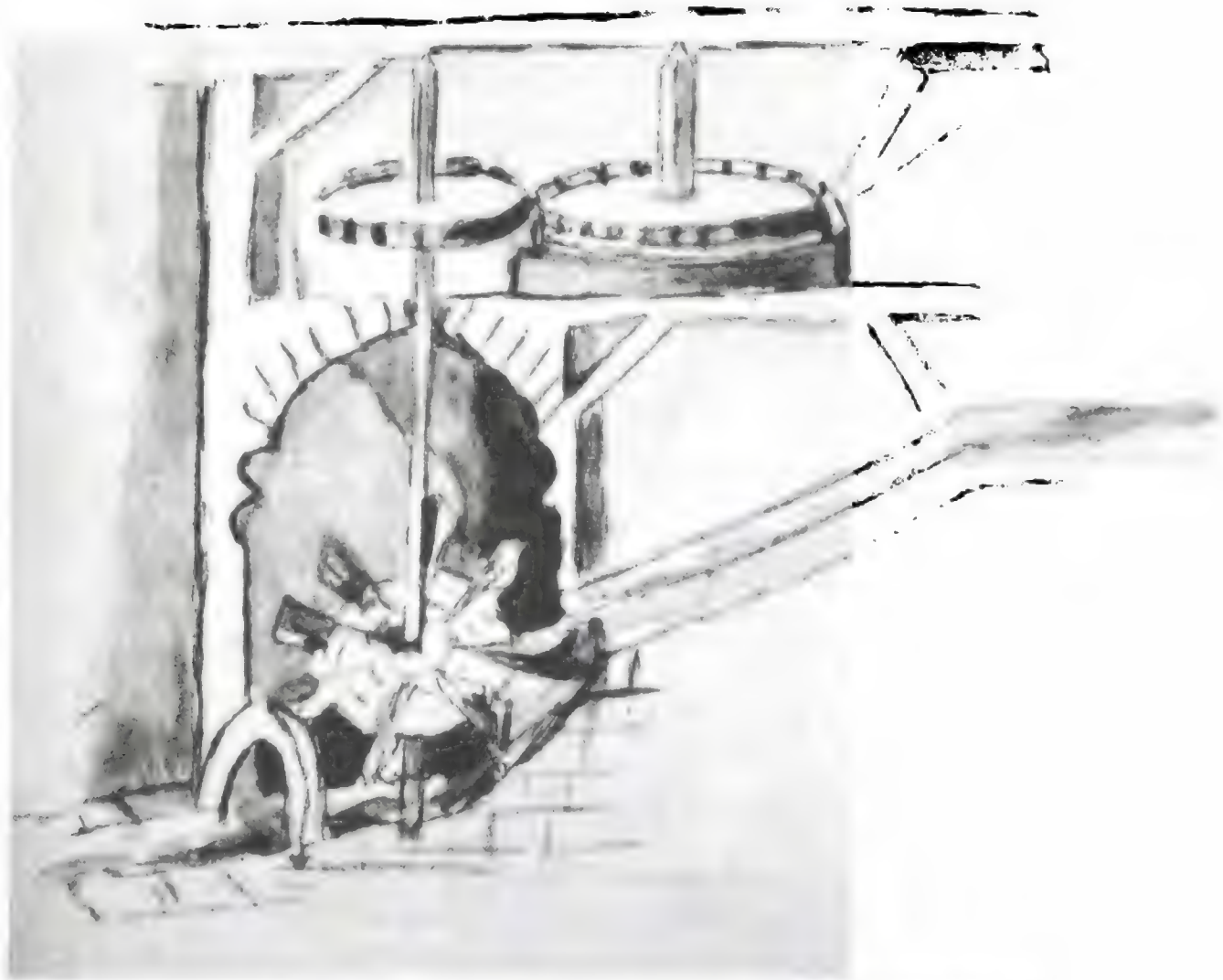
Let us first turn to the town of Dadur. It is built about 3 miles from the entrance to the Bolan Pass, which looks like a narrow cleft in the long line of mountains. This is a large place on the E bank of a considerable stream, & there are some good gardens to the north of the town, with pomegranates, black and white mulberry, and nectarine trees, also a few vines. The Pass is, in fact, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent, the rocks in places resembling a wall on each side of the road of several hundred feet in height [and] often not above a few yards in breadth. (9) It is impossible to imagine anything more wild and desolate than this passage through this rocky barrier which extends a distance of about 60 miles, the road gradually rising towards the upper land. In places the hills recede, leaving open spaces in which a little coarse grass can be occasionally found; but along the entire distance only one solitary Palm is met with. A steep and difficult ascent terminates the Pass, after which a desert plain, with bleak mountains on each side, stretches towards Quetta, the principal town in the province of Shawl. Here, even in the middle of April, snow is to be found still on the tops of the mountains. The climate in April is delightful, tho' the nights are bitterly cold. At this time foraging parties were sent out for grass and returned with branches of May in full flower. (10) The pleasure which these European flowers gave can only be understood by those who have passed several years in a burning tropical climate.

Two things also attracted attention, the first being the underground aqueducts which conveyed streams of water for miles from the hills to the level valleys. (11) They are formed by shafts dug about ten or twenty paces asunder, the space between being then joined by a small tunnel. But tho' in places these tunnels are made through soft soil, they are never secured by brickworks; nevertheless, they stand for many years. These aqueducts are common throughout Afghanistan, Persia and the Punjab. [Secondly], the horizontal water wheels for flour mills are well worth attention. They are extremely simple. The water is made to act on a number of fans projecting from a wheel, placed horizontally on the edge of a stream, which is thus kept in motion [by the current]. A pair of small millstones rest on a frame immediately above the wheel, the upper stone being fixed to the axle which passes through the centre of the lower stone. Most of these mills are very small, the stones not being above two feet in diameter. (12) The following is a section of [one such] mill, on a slightly improved method, now commonly used in Afghanistan. Round Quetta are numerous fields of clover, or lucern, and the country about this place in April is really beautiful - the fields and trees being as green as in England. Standard apricots and a kind of small beech tree are planted in clumps; these, with the picturesque mountains in the background, have a pleasing effect. The town is not nearly as prosperous as it might be made, especially considering that, should a future war with Afghanistan or Russia occur, an advance from that town to Candahar will sever Caboul from Herat, and cut the Amir [Abdur Rahman] off from the larger half of his territory. The history of this region is peculiarly interesting for Alexander the Great conquered the northern part of Afghanistan in his expedition to India [in] BC 328. The inhabitants [of Quetta] are Afghans [Pathans], Baloochies [Baluch], and Hindoos. These last are principally petty shopkeepers.

The boundary between Baloochistan and Khorasan is supposed to run about 5 miles to the north of this place, (13) & about 26 miles further to the North West we come to the banks of the [Pishin] Lora river, having to pass Kuchlak where there is a steep cut in the hills and which is the boundary of the province of Shawl. Then comes a dusty road with several steep nullahs - the last one in particular [being] extremely awkward. This brings one to



Baloochistan, Afganistan, Punjaub, and the Indus, after the original by Colonel Henry Gordon Creed.



The horizontal water wheel for flour mill

Hyderzye (10 miles). The water at this place is very bad, [and] several of the horses died suddenly, which was attributed either to the water, or to a noxious weed with a blue flower. After having passed Hykulzye (11 miles) on a good road, and supplies abundant, the river [Pishin] Lora appears, with its very steep banks and its renown for the famous robbers who invest the District. (14) Many of these robbers claim descent from their prophet Mahomed and are styled **Seyuds**, and when there is no one to rob, they are all occupied in agriculture and are said to be troublesome and fanatical. (15) They also breed horses which are sent for sale to India.

Further on, for 10 miles, one rides over a very good road with tamerisk trees and jungle when Fort Abolella [Qila Abdullah] appears. It is of mud, large, and in fair repair, with capital buildings inside and some fine gardens. Proceed 10 miles, and one arrives at the Khojak range of hills over which the road to Candahar passes. (16) These are remarkably difficult, [since] there are no defiles in them like in the Bolan Pass. A few poor mud villages are now met with, [and] some curious rugged hills which were pointed out as being named after Leila and Mudjloon [Laila and Majnun], two lovers famous in Persian song as having been in every way as devoted as Hero and Leander, for this worthy pair jumped down from the top of a cliff. (17) The Tarnak River is easily forded, the water flowing towards the West. This river, with others, after joining the Helmund, is eventually lost in a swamp, or sandy marsh. (18) Green wheat is everywhere abundant, till at last, after passing several villages on the road, we come to the plain of Candahar. The modern City stands about 31 deg. 36 min. N and 66 deg. 55 min. E. It must not be imagined that this is the old City of that name, the ruins of which are at a distance of some miles. (19) To the North West is a range of quaintly shaped hills beyond which is the river Urghundab [Arghandab] which fertilizes an extensive valley. Outside the City are some buildings somewhat

like gigantic bee hives - these are intended to collect [store] frozen snow collected during the winter. (20)

Candahar is surrounded by a strong mud wall with round towers, castellated at top. Four broad streets, intersecting in the centre of the City, divide it into as many quarters. These are the principal Bazaars which are pretty well supplied with horse furniture, carpets from Herat, embroidered slippers, &c., &c., and four booksellers shops. Bakers & cooks are numerous, with baked mutton, Kebabs and sheep heads. The bread is very good when new. Sherbet cooled with snow and sour milk seems common. (21) A dome covers the centre of the Bazaar. (22) In the fruit stalls, which are in general in the open street, with large umbrellas over them, may be seen at this season (April), ripe apricots, also Boukhara plums, as well as dried peaches and grapes. (23) The natives seem to very fond of crested larks which are kept in cages and certainly sing prettily. (24) The Palace is a large and pretty good building with several Courts in which are reservoirs of water with rose beds on the sides. (26) These courts are surrounded by mud walls ornamented with pointed Moorish arches. The apartments are small, but cool and pleasant, with arabesque ornaments in *chunam* [plaster]. The Mausoleum of Ahmed Shah Doorani is about the best building in Candahar. In shape it is an octagon with numerous minarets, and a large dome. The interior is most elaborately ornamented with arabesques in blue, red and white on a gold ground, which has a very rich effect. Some of the flowers are very well painted, and beautiful porcelain tiles cover the lower part of the walls for about four feet. (26)

After leaving Candahar, the road to Ghiznah [Ghazna] (by the modern Afghans called Ghuznee) follows the course of the Tarnak river, in a north easterly direction. It is bounded on either side by a range of hills, those to the West separating the country of the Ghilzie Afghans from the Hazareh tribes. These latter are evidently of Tartar origin, for their small eyes, flat noses and scanty beards are [of] an exact type of the race. (27) It seems probable that Alexander the Great followed the valley of the Tarnak; if so, it is curious that a British Army should have followed the footsteps of the Greek Conqueror.

As one advances, the level of the country gradually becomes more elevated, for at Serie Asp it was found that the elevation was 5,800 feet above the sea, (28) and about 80 miles further on, near Oba, the height had increased to 8,000 feet. This seems to be about the highest point on this part of the road, for at Chardeh, which is the next camp, the streams flow to the East and South East and fall into the Ab-i Istada Lake. Many villages cover the valley and all kinds of grain and forage are abundant in April. These villages might sooner be called fortified farms, for they are square enclosures of white mud with round or octagonal towers at the angles. Most of them are 15 or 18 feet high. They contain the dwellings and outhouses of the Cultivators, and are in general named after the Chief to whom the ground belongs. (29) A long ride brings one to the famous fortress of Ghuznee.

I have neglected to mention that about 26 miles from Khelatie Gilzie [Kalat-i Ghilzai], one passes a curious pillar, or obelisk, of brick, 40 feet high, erected by Ahmed Shah; (30) also that Khelatie Gilzie is a miserable village, but near it there is a mound which was formerly a Fort, (31) the situation of which is extremely advantageous as it completely commands the road.

The principal interest attached to Ghuznee consists in its having once been the Capital of the great Sultan Mahmoud whose expeditions into India seem more like romance than reality; (32) but tho' a ruthless conqueror, he possessed (so they say in Ghuznee) some redeeming qualities. He was strictly just and impartial to all, both high and low, a magnificent patron of literature during his reign, and by his orders was composed the *Shah Nama*, one of the greatest Epic poems in the Persian language. (33) He was a

fanatic, but from all we hear, we must allow him to have been consistent and sincere in his belief, and not actuated by mercenary motives. In his intercourse with his friends and Officers he was affable and kind, and his courage under the greatest difficulties was unconquerable!

A story is told of him that during one of the Expeditions against Boukhara his Army was surprised on the lofty slopes of the Hindoo Koosh by a violent storm of hail and snow accompanied by a bitter north wind, and with great difficulty a small tent was erected, into which the Sultan and his choice Companions crowded. [Upon] a stove being lighted, Mahmoud immediately recovered his usual daring, for, on a Chief entering and reporting the night to be a fearful one, he exclaimed: "Go out again and tell old Father Winter that Mahmoud of Ghazna and his brave friends place him at defiance!" The next morning, however, the thousands of Men and horses who had perished from cold warned the Sultan that even his power could not stand against an Alpine winter. He therefore retreated with the remains of his troops, and reached his Capital with the greatest difficulty. To the East of the fortress at the foot of some hills still stand two beautiful brick Minars built by this Sultan. One is 180 feet and the second 160 feet high. It is supposed that between these stood the famous Mosque mentioned as follows by Ferishta, (34) viz:

Sultan Mahmoud Ghuznawi on his return ordered a magnificent Mosque to be built of marble and granite, of such beauty as struck every beholder with astonishment, and furnished it with candelabras and other ornaments of gold and silver! This Mosque was universally known by the name of 'Celestial Bride'!



2 beautiful brick Minars E of Ghuznee

It must be confessed that after visiting the spot one is inclined to entertain great doubts as to the correctness of this account, or in fact that Ghuznee was ever the splendid city Mahomedan writers delight in describing. In the first place, it must be remembered that the Tribes over whom Mahmoud reigned were a set of fierce Mountaineers more accustomed to war than to the arts of peace, and that his constant Expeditions did not allow him time to erect many buildings. The brick Minars just mentioned, and the Sultan's Tomb at the poor village of Roza - about a mile distant - are the only ancient buildings standing; nor is there any trace of stone walls or foundations scattered over the plain. (35) It is true that Ghuznee was plundered, and that there exists a tradition on the spot that the greater part of the old City was afterwards swept away by an awful flood caused by the sudden melting of the snow on the mountains; but then, why was not the Sultan's tomb also destroyed [as it] still stands in a most exposed situation? Is it not more probable that these mountaineers, on their return from their warlike Expeditions, merely built flat roof dwellings of brick and white or yellow mud like those at present inhabited by the modern Afghans, whilst round these permanent buildings were clustered extensive Camps of black tents with innumerable flocks of sheep horses and camels?

(I subsequently visited, in October [1879], one of the Ghilzai Camps which was pitched not far from Dakka, near the Afghan side of the Khyber Pass. These Camps are called **Khails** [**Khels**]. Thousands of tents were scattered over the sides of the hills and in the Dakka plain. They are formed of black blankets [woven goat hair], and, tho' low, are of considerable size. Horses, bullocks, goats, sheep, and camels were grazing about. I saw some fine children, but I noticed especially a girl of 7 or 8; her head dress was very singular. The hair was plaited in numerous slender strings hanging over the ears and neck, whilst in the middle of her forehead a large lock of hair, terminating in a curl, or sooner circle, partly concealed her nose. Their only covering was a long shirt extending to the ankles, with tight fitting sleeves!)

Having mentioned the Ab-i Istada, it would be as well here to describe this fine inland lake which is estimated to be at about 60 miles in circumference. (36) The water is salt, and according to the Natives there are no fish in it, nor do they use boats or any kind of vessel. (37) The mountains on the opposite side look barren and rocky. In fact, this secluded lake strongly reminds one of the accounts of the Dead Sea with the mountains of Moab in the distance. At this time of the year (October) the nights are very cold, the Thermometer falling to 22 deg.

But to return to Ghuznee, the Tomb of the great Emperor [Mahmoud] is situated in the small village of Roza. Round it are gardens of pear trees, mulberry, plums, and apples. To arrive at the Tomb, one has to thread some narrow lanes with wretched houses two stories high. A transparent stream of water issuing from a Lion's mouth, rudely carved in white marble, flows down the lane which connects to the gateway, under the threshold of which is buried a part of the far famed idol of Sumnath. (38) The portico is lofty, with a horseshoe Arch and slanting buttresses; it is entirely of brick, and tho' anything but handsome, still has a venerable appearance! On passing the door you then turn to the right and pass through a long corridor supported by pointed arches and planted with trees which almost conceal the buildings. The above corridor is perfectly unadorned and of the rudest construction. After again turning to the left you enter a Court surrounded by walls with Moorish Arches. The face fronting the South is that occupied by the Tomb, which is entered through a square gateway over which is a balcony, suspended from the top [of which] are three inverted "Fleur de Lis", or as they are named by the Afghans "clusters of grapes." These, it appears, are one of the wonders of the place as [it is] affirmed that they are merely formed of brick and mortar. (39) An Arcade of 4 arches closes up the rest of the North face.

The whole is of brick and evinces traces of great antiquity! Immediately in rear of the central entrance are the supposed sandalwood doors which formed part of the plunder from the Hindoo temple of Sunnath. (41) These open into a room 18 by 36 ft, perfectly plain, with a wooden ceiling much decayed. In the centre is a small white marble tombstone; beautifully carved sentences from the **Koran**, in ancient Arabic letters, cover the sides and top which is formed in the shape of a wedge. A tattered canopy with a few ostrich eggs, and the skin of a large tiger, are the only ornaments. Mahmoud [died] AD. 1030.

The road from Ghuznee to Caboul winds between mountains; at Shaikhabad the river Logar is passed. This river abounds with fish, the banks are very pretty with plantations of trees. There are several large villages, and the tops of the mountains, covered with snow, are extremely picturesque! The road to Shaikhabad [from Ghuznee] is uneven in places. The first stage is to Shashgao, 13 miles. One has to pass through a difficult defile - road stony - supplies abundant! The second stage is [to] Haftusya - road good - 10 miles. The third stage is 11 miles, to Hyder Khel, through a very rich valley, the whole of which is under cultivation, - road uneven in places, - pass a number of flourishing villages. During the night there was a good deal of thunder and a very heavy fall of rain extending from Oba to Hyder Khel. The country was quite flooded. The fourth stage, to Shaikhabad, is a distance of 9 miles 4 fs., over a difficult road, crossing the Logar River twice; it was 3 feet deep. There are several large villages about Shaikhabad, also a rude bridge of two wooden Arches not passable for Guns.

Maidan, the next halting ground, 17-1/2 miles, is also a beautiful spot! A fine clear stream rushing over a pebbly bed looks like an English Trout stream. (41) Fields of clover, with hedges of dog roses were in flower, and there are many fine poplar trees, whilst an old stone bridge and several fortified villages built at the foot of the snowcapped mountains add to the general effect!

From Maidan to Caboul the road is uninteresting, unless one thinks of the hardships encountered by our gallant predecessors who, under General Sir John Keane, GCB, GCH, in command of the Bombay Division of the "Army of the Indus," accompanied him with a marvellously slight loss of lives from Bominacote to Candahar, Ghuznee, Caboul, Kalat, and Bukkur. And when one considers that the distance from Bominacote to Candahar was, by the route taken by him:

	710 miles		<u>59 marches</u>
Candahar to Ghuznee	217 "	6 furlongs	
Ghuznee to Caboul	83 "		
total	<u>1,010</u> "	<u>6 furlongs</u>	<u>86 Do</u>

it is impossible not to admire their splendid pluck and resolution! (42)

The first stage from Maidan is [to] Urgundae [Arghandi], 10 miles, over a difficult road and may be considered to be uninteresting. But the scenery during the next stage to the Alpine Capital (distant 12 miles), with the lofty range of the Hindoo Koosh to the North, covered with eternal snow, whilst the plain [is] scattered over with fruit gardens and cultivation, amply repays the Traveller. Caboul stands at 34 deg. 30 min. N. In the City there are several extensive Bazaars covered in at top. The finest one was that which was erected by Ali Merdan Khan, a Persian Nobleman of the Mogul Court of Delhi, to whose munificence and liberality India is indebted for many of its finest buildings and public works, amongst which is the Canal which supplies Delhi with water. This Bazaar, as he built it, was only allowed to remain till 1842, when it was burned down and utterly destroyed by the British to avenge the murder of our Envoy whose body was afterwards exposed there. (43)

Caboul, spelt by some Kabul, has been so often described that I shall



Shaikhabad

say no more about it beyond that it is certainly a poor place. However, with the help of Sir T. S. Pyne, the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, since the last few years, has succeeded in improving his Capital and Kingdom to a very great extent. He has organized numerous Factories, one of which is for the manufacture of guns, rifles, and ammunition. (44)

The tomb of the Emperor Babur, however, must not be forgotten; it stands on the side of one of the hills [outside the city]. The spot is marked by a small platform of white marble, at the head [of which] is an upright slab, beautifully carved with Persian and Arabic letters. At the top are these words - "Allah o Akbar," God is great. The date answers to AD. 1530. Near the tomb is a small Mosque entirely of marble; it was built [in 1646] by Shah Jehan at an expense of 40,000 Rs., after the conquest of Balkh. (45) Water falls in artificial cascades all down the side of the hill. Fine old trees are planted on each side, with walks and grass, and the inhabitants of Caboul are fond of visiting this spot. (46)

There were two severe snowstorms in the mountains, but none fell on the plain; the effect was very grand. As they passed away, the sun shone brilliantly on the snowy peaks, and made them appear like molten silver. On the summit of one stood a lofty column which was the work of the ancient Greeks. (47) Further to the East are many Topes, or Tumuli, of the Bactrians from which valuable coins and other remains have been obtained. In fact, the whole country abounds with objects of interest to the Antiquary! (48)

The educated Afghan is a very interesting man to talk with. I was conversing with a learned Mahomedan Mounshie and he attempted to convince me that all of his religion had always an astronomical problem in view. From what he said, I inferred that the Mahomedans believed that the sun revolved round the earth from E to W, at the same time passing through the twelve signs of the Zodiac and thus appearing at times to rise to the N and S of East. He also assumed that the Earth also revolved once during the year on its own centre at an angle with the East of about 23 deg. 37 min., of which he said there can be no doubt! (49) He said that the following are the names of what they consider to be the 7 planets revolving round the Earth.

Zuhl. Saturn	Zuhrab. Venus
Mushteree. Jupiter	Entarid. Mercury.
Mirrikh. Mars.	Kumur. Moon
Shums. Sun.	

The North Star they call the Kotab Tarah. (50) He further informed me that he had an Arabic book on Astronomy in which there were a number of curious Theories. He said the Mahomedans believed there were nine Heavens! but that the Stars were confined to seven of them. In the highest one day and night did not exist, but [only] a refulgent brightness, that Comets were wandering Stars and that the Tides were caused (so he read from the Arabic) by the waters of vengeance which in the days of Noah, being let loose from below, as well as above, overwhelmed all mankind except those in the Ark, and that [the tides] having withdrawn by Command of Allah within the limit assigned to them, still retain sufficient power and indignation at the sins of the Human Race that they rise up and lash their waves against the unrighteous coasts!

Some of the Afghan Chiefs in Caboul own large and rather picturesque mud Forts [qalas]. This sketch [p. 16] shows what they are like! Around an occasional Fort are to be found stunted red cedars, but trees are extremely rare in these parts. On the hills, however, there is usually seen a wild Southern wood which is a very bitter plant.

I hoped to have seen the fortress of Kalat, as my Father had commanded the two guns which blew in the gates of Kalat and opened the way for the assaulting column. (51) Colonel Creed served through the First Afghan War



Maidan

(1839) with the horse batteries of Lord Keane's expedition, and throughout the Campaign he was Lieutenant and Adjutant. I can, however, attach a photograph [actual sketch, or copy; p. 17] of one of his numerous sketches, and regarding this place he says:

Khelat has always been looked upon as the Capital of Baloochistan. It is 6,600 feet above the level of the sea. It is surrounded by a mud wall with round towers. The streets are extremely narrow, and the Bazaars are covered over making them dark and dirty. The Palace is the only large building; it is built on a rock 220 feet high above the plain. The principal entrance is through a long dark winding passage, with several gates and doors. The apartments are much superior to those at Ghuznee, being ornamented properly with looking glasses and arabesques, and with large quantities of Persian Carpets, silks, shawls, gold & silver brocades, porcelain, books exquisitely illuminated, &c., &c., and in short, everything that is considered necessary for a Mahomedan Prince. Outside the town are some large suburbs, and some gardens. It is well supplied with water from the surrounding hills.
(52)

Having gained the open country below the Brahouie [Brahui] Mountains, a tract of Desert extends a considerable distance to the East. This, unlike the great [Thar] Desert on the other side of the Indus (which is a succession of loose sand hills), is perfectly hard and level. The effect of the mirage on these vast arid plains is most curious, and as we approach the river from which many extensive canals bring water to irrigate the fields, vegetation becomes extremely luxuriant!

But to return to Caboul. It is here that one can meet one of the cleverest men in the World, for telling curious anecdotes, fragments, legends, &c. He is the Seyud Ameen Moola Imayut Ulla. One evening he told us one of them.

His Story runs thus!

What you say, Gentlemen, is true, replied our friend Seyud Ameen. It is ungenerous to oppress a man on account of his religion; nor is it always safe to do so, be the person ever so poor and insignificant, as you will see by the fate of the ~~Cazee~~ [or Kazi, judge] of this City who perished miserably three years ago. I will, if you please, relate [to] you his Story. Moola Mahomed Azziz was ~~Cazee~~ of one of the Quarters of Caboul, and on the whole was not a bad man. He was upright in his dealings, a strict observer of the law, and naturally of a peaceable and mild disposition; but it must be allowed he was rather too strict in the administration of Justice towards the Infidels, (53) and his severity toward all those who infringed the Mahomedan customs was noted. Several vagrants from Portuguese India occasionally wandered up from

their Settlements on the Coast [of India], and these were not remarkable for the patience with which they bore real or imaginary injuries. One of these needy adventurers, whose name was Nugno Norogna, having indulged too much in some strong drink, struck a Mahomedan, and being apprehended for the offence, was carried by the town Guard before the Tribunal of the **Cazee**. The judge, after examining the witnesses, declared that if the law was strictly enforced the Christian [a Goan convert?] ought to lose his hand; but as it had been proved that the complainant had first reviled him as a **Kaffir**, or Unbeliever, he should only sentence him to be publicly bastinadoed! The execution of this sentence was accordingly performed with great rigour, and the Complainant, having volunteered as executioner, seemed resolved to add to the cruelty of it, for whenever the unfortunate Portuguese groaned, the other, redoubling his blows, exclaimed: "Silence! Oh Dog. Do'st thou murmur?" And if he entreated a moment's respite from torture, he only repeated his former words: "Silence, dog. Do'st thou murmur?" From that moment, revenge took full possession of the Feringee's soul, his fury knew no bounds, and to accomplish his ends he even sacrificed his Religion. Having done so, the renegade, by practicing every art of hypocrisy which seems to promote the needy, in the course of time obtained a high reputation for sanctity and uprightness, and at length found means to gratify that resentment which years had ripened into a passion. A **Tusima**, or rosary, of pearls, which he had previously stolen from the **Cazee** as he sat at prayers, was privately hidden in the victim's clothes. He gave information of the robbery, and, as the man bore no good character, and could offer nought in his defence save that he was innocent of the crime, he was sentenced to death. Many were astonished when they saw the Renegade step forward and offer to be Executioner; but as he had, on changing his Religion, also altered his name and costume, no one recognized in the venerable **Haji** the vagabond Portuguese. The rigor of the Afghan laws is well known, and you will not, therefore, be surprised to hear that the supposed criminal was immediately conveyed from the Judgment Seat to the spot where he was to lose his head! The wretched man, after having his hands tied behind his back, was compelled to kneel, and seeing his executioner flourishing his sabre before his eyes, had repeated the belief [i.e., profession of faith] and resigned himself to his fate. But his death alone was not enough to satisfy the hatred of his enemy, and he accordingly whispered in his ear who he really was, and that it was himself who had stolen the pearls and hidden them

in his dress!

"Oh! my friends!" cried the wretched man, "Hear what this man says."

"Silence, dog! Do'st thou murmur?" replied the Renegade, and in an instant, with a blow of his scimitar, he severed his head from the body.

Still, however, the Renegade did not deem his vengeance complete till he had destroyed the **Cazee** who had condemned him. He accordingly waited patiently till an opportunity offered for his security, assassinating the unsuspecting old man as he was at prayers. This murder caused a great sensation throughout the City; but the assassin had laid his plans too well to be discovered! Nor would what I have been telling you ever have been known, if the Portuguese, on his death bed, had not revealed the dreadful tragedy, informing his amused and admiring auditors that he had taken good care to let the **Cazee** know from what hand the blow came. He had hardly told them this than he expired!

On the following morning a journey to Jellalabad distant 90 miles was made. (54) Soon after leaving Caboul you cross the Logar River, and then [climb] through the Khoord Caboul Pass (which is about 16 miles from the City). Bootkhak, which is another of the usual uninteresting Afghan villages, is passed, and then comes Tezeen, Kuttah Sing, and Jugdulluk. [One then travels] through a long and winding Kotul [pass] overlooked and commanded by a lofty range of Mountains which are extremely dangerous, to some table land which commands the route to Soorkhab. All this route must be of vast interest to every Englishman and Indian on account of Dr. Brydon's report [made after] he arrived alone and exhausted at Jellalabad on the 16th [13th] January 1842. He reported that our Troops, with Ladies, quitted Caboul, under the convention agreed upon by Major [Eldred] Pottinger, on the 6th Janry 1842. The Cantonment was immediately occupied by the Afghans, and the English were almost instantly attacked. The march became a flight at the Khoord Caboul Pass where the Ladies were sent back. (55) At Tezeen, General [W.G.K.] Elphinstone and Colonel [Brigadier J.] Shelton were made prisoners. The Native Troops became disorganized and scattered, [and] at Jugdulluk, 400 of the 44th Regiment, who had before kept well together, became disorganized owing to their enormous losses, intense cold & fatigue, and the terrible fire and onslaughts of the enemy who disputed every yard of their route. Thus out of a body of Troops (about 5,500), every man except Dr. Brydon was cut up! [See n. 55]

The next stage is Gandamak, where the soil is very fertile. Green fields, orchards, and numerous villages extend towards the low hills which are covered with huge pine, and above them towers the Safed Koh range. (56) This formed a great contrast to the desolate sandy ridge on which my tent was pitched. Provisions were freely coming in, and the sheep were sold [here] at a far cheaper rate than at any other place. Most of the sheep (Dhumbas) had enormous broad tails which, with some, even reached to the ground, and when killed and cooked, the mutton had a peculiar taste.

Several hundreds of ponies were handed over to the charge of the different Regiments in Camp. These ponies had been purchased in India, many of them from Officers of various Regiments. Several of them were polo ponies for which the Government had paid to the owner as much as one hundred ruppees per pony. They were really very nice looking animals, and all of them were in first class condition. They, however, very soon degenerated, and a few



Marble Mosque near Emperor Babur's Tomb

months afterwards died by the score for want of proper treatment. In the first place, the grass being scented, the ponies could not, or would not, eat it. The barley, of which they were allowed two seers each per day, (57) seemed useless to keep them in condition without grass, and good grass could only be obtained a long distance off, where the calvary collected theirs. At first, unfortunately, knives had not been provided, so grass could not be cut, and in lieu of grass the ponies were supplied with a small quantity of **Bhoosa**. (58) The loading gear was unsuitable and out of repair, and no **Mochees** (59) were available to repair or alter them. This gave the wretched animals sore backs, and there was only one commissariat **Salutri** (60) in camp, whose duties were to look after the mules as well as to attend [to] the whole of these animals. There [also] was no Smith to shoe them; they therefore had



Afghan Chief's Fort in Caboul

to carry their loads without shoes, and to crown all, great difficulty was experienced in getting a measure with which to serve out the barley. Altogether, these ponies had a rare bad time of it, and those that did not die were sold by auction a few months afterwards at an enormous sacrifice. In Peshawar, ponies sold for four rupees each on several occasions. Those that had diseases were sold in lots of three at a time, and in one instance a batch of three of them was knocked down for six rupees! I forgot to mention that each pony had to carry a load of 14 Kits. Mules were principally used for the ammunition; two boxes, each containing six hundred rounds, was the proper load to place on a mule over the pack saddle. The amount of baggage (including tent) permitted to each Officer was 80 lbs, and to Staff Sergeants and Soldiers (not including tent) was, respectively, 20 lbs and 10 lbs each.

At Gandamak are the site and broken walls of the old Cantonment of 1842. (61) There is also the famous hill where the remnant of the 44th Regiment made their last gallant stand during the retreat from Caboul. Their bones were found lying all over this hill, but were collected [1879] by H.M. 17th Regiment and buried, and a monument [cairn] was erected over them on the centre of the hill. (62) Here an extraordinary occurrence took place: - during our two days stay at Gandamak only one theft was committed, and the thieves succeeded in making off with a valuable horse.

The weather in May [1879] was exceedingly hot during the day, the Thermometer in Camp averaging during the first week, at 1 pm, 103 deg.

Close to Safed Sang (about 5 miles), and distant about 8 miles from Gandamak, is the Nimla Valley which extends in length for two miles, [and] to which place there is a precipitous descent to the left from the ridge of the Safed Sang. The elevation of this ridge is 4,800 feet above the sea, from which the early view of the Safed Koh is very fine, as it is always covered



Fortress and Palace of Kalat

with snow. Looking down into the valley, there is to be seen nothing but green cultivation; its garden of large cypresses makes Nimla **bagh** [garden] look a very pleasant place! Here I saw a horse belonging to the Artillery killed when the unfortunate animal fell into one of the many deep irrigation, or aqueduct, drains, the wheel of the gun passing over him. (63) A very pleasant Sunday was passed inside the Nimla garden, and at 5.30 pm there was a Divine Service there for those who cared to attend. On this occasion the Congregation was not large owing to many of the Officers and Men being in need of rest. They were, therefore, quite contented to know that in England, in every Church, the Prayer to be used in the time of War and Tumults was being read by thousands of Clergymen to their Congregations.

This Prayer has three glorious sentences which are, however, ridiculous when applied to an Afghan! — "Abate their pride," "assuage their malice," "confound their devices." These three things will never be accomplished until the Afghan is exterminated off the face of the earth. (64) It might, therefore, be a good idea to invent some new prayer to be used, especially when our Armies are again advanced into Afghanistan. The day is not far distant when we shall again be in Caboul, and on this account, the sooner one of our Bishops sets about this task, the greater should be his Reward (later on)! (65)

A site for a fortified post towards the right front of the Safed Sang Camp was selected and a Fort was built. The bridge over the [Nimla] river had a broken arch, and the Sappers and Miners repaired it. The river at this time here was very low, and anyone could cross over to the other side at a place under the bridge and scarcely get his feet wet.

Several picnics were organized every week to Nimla **bagh**, or garden, with the baggage ponies and mules laden with the cooking utensils, rations, and

greatcoats. On arriving at the gardens in the morning, large fires were lighted and the troops commenced to cook their breakfasts. After eating, each man might be seen with his pipe, sitting under tall pines, silently smoking. Then some strolled about the garden in quest of ferns which abounded, or lazily watched the hundreds of birds and pigeons flying about the trees, evidently displeased at our intrusion into their beautiful garden. Then, from Safed Sang camp, is suddenly heard the faint notes of some bugle call, and every Soldier congratulates himself on being some miles distant from the noise and dust of the Camp. Later on, the Bands play popular marches, and a feeling of intense tranquillity steals over each man who is either smoking the pipe of peace, or watching the Company cooks busy in cooking his dinner. After that meal, the scene changes. Rupees having been collected [on wager], Athletic sports are commenced, and for the rest of the afternoon numerous foot races for Officers, Sergeants, and Men are keenly contested. The Sports conclude with a Tug of War, after which the Troops return to camp.

On one occasion, Mr. John Burke, the well known Punjab Photographer whose establishments are at Peshawar and the Murree Hills, took several capital groups and views of the surrounding scenery! (66) All the cypress trees in and around the Nimla Garden are planted in lines at equal distances. The Nimla river runs through the fertile valley close to the garden, and, crossing the Jellalabad road, flows to the Caboul river.

On the 25th [May 1879] all the mule carriages belonging to the Regiments of the Division started for Jellalabad, to bring up the 3rd Reserve of Ammunition, escorted by 25 men from each Regiment, and 5% [of the] dandies, or dhoolies. (67) After passing the small river of Nimla, a steep, high hill had to be climbed. Here, near the Futtehabad ridge, was a post called Fort Battye, and on the other side, for the next six miles, three defiles had to be passed, crossing as many streams. (68)

Moving onward, we at last reached Rozabad, which is an Afghan nobleman's fortified house. Here we found a detachment of the 45th Sikhs. This house was a large and comfortable one. It even had **punkahs** worked by water rushing along underground aqueducts. At the garden [of this house], the party were halted for the night, there being a stream of clear water for men and animals to drink. The Chief (with an unpronounceable name) who owned the Fort came forward and invited us to partake of refreshments in the shape of tea, **chupatties**, hard boiled eggs, fruit, and Native sweet-meats. His invitation was accepted, and we were received with kindness and hospitality. A Persian carpet was spread on the green turf beneath a large tree situated nearly in front of the Fort gate. The Chief was a very fine old man, over sixty years of age, and was dignified in his bearing and conversation. His property consisted of the Fort and about 3 miles of cultivated land in its vicinity. One of his servants had formerly been a Sowar in the Bengal Cavalry, and was then receiving a pension from the Indian Government for long Service. The old Chief, aided by his servants, handed round sweet tea in small cups of Russian China. (69) The tea was served very hot, without milk. It was too strong to my taste, and had too much sugar!

After the meal was over we strolled about the garden, which is a large one, full of fruit trees of various kinds, and grapes. The Chief endeavoured to impress upon us that in former years his Family had owned all the land as far as the eyes could see in every direction, and on account of the numerous ruins of fortified villages around, I have no doubt whatever that his statements were quite true.

Anyhow, that evening our friend, Seyud Ameen Moola Imayut Ulla, visited us after we had finished our humble repast of tinned beef, **chupatties**, and some fruit (a present from the Chief), the whole being washed down with a tot of rum each, mixed with water. He had volunteered to accompany me to Jellalabad, and we were very glad of his company. In reply to our numerous



Afghan nobleman's fortified house, Rozabad

questions about Rozabad, and having told him what the chief had told us about himself, and of the large possessions which had in former years been owned by his Family, the Seyud said he remembered a story which had been related to him some years ago by a Persian Mirza who was on his travels, and whom he had met at Caubul! On our expressing a wish to hear it, he immediately commenced as follows: -

Story of the Rozabad Vizier and the Dogs.

A certain Chief of Rozabad who was an Ancestor of the present Chief, and who in those days was called Amir of the country from Jugdulluk to the Khyber, was naturally of a cruel disposition. He kept a large pack of Dogs, as much for the purpose of hunting as to enable him to gratify his revenge on such of his own Subjects as displeased him, for whenever a rebel or criminal was sentenced to death, the wretched man was thrown into the place where the dogs were kept and they presently tore him in pieces in [the] presence of the Amir and his trembling slaves!

This same Amir had a Vizier, a wise and discreet person, who, though a great favourite with his Master, remembering the verses of the Poet - "Great peril is there in the friendship of Kings; It turns often into a flame which consumes you in an instant" - determined to act as if he had everything to apprehend from his Master's wrath.

He accordingly, every morning, previous to

appearing in the Durbar, passed by the house where the Amir's dogs were confined, and, carrying in the folds of his dress some chupatties, or a few cakes, distributed them to the canine executioners, and by pursuing this conduct soon became their greatest favourite!

Many of the Courtiers laughed at this wise Vizier, calling him in derision **Sug Purust**, or "the Dog Worshipper," a name extremely offensive to all Mahomedans because they look on the Dog as an unclean animal. (It is also the title for a **Ghuber**, or Fire Worshipper.) However, his prudence in the course of time became manifest, for the Amir one day, happening to be greatly enraged with him, ordered the Vizier to be thrown to the dogs! The mandate was obeyed, and the Amir and his whole Court expected to see him torn in pieces, and his carcase devoured by the ravenous animals. But, what was their astonishment when they perceived the dogs crowding round him, some licking his hands, some wagging their tails, others fawning on him, and the whole expressing by every mark in their power how delighted they were to see their old friend!

The sequel is quickly told. The Amir, touched with remorse in finding ravenous dogs even remembered past kindness whilst he had forgotten the years of faithful servitude of his Vizier, and struck with his wisdom in foreseeing and guarding against misfortunes whilst in the midst of prosperity, not only restored him to his former honors, but even added thereto, and at his recommendation ceased practising a cruelty revolting to God and Man!

The following morning we bid goodbye to the fine old Chief and resumed our journey to Jellalabad. We found the road a good one, but very dusty. Working parties of Soldiers and "friendly" Afghans had been employed in making it. The former always worked with a will, as British Soldiers always do, and have done. They received for their work per day: Soldiers, 6 annas; Non-Commissioned Officers, 8 annas each, while each "friendly" Afghan, who was as lazy as possible, received 8 annas. This money was always paid immediately after the day's work. Well, can you imagine the surprise and disgust of Tommy Atkins when an Order was published on the 15th May [1879], directing that the money, which had been issued to the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men as working pay for making roads and Forts, should at once be recovered from them, as the Examiner, Pay Department, had disallowed it. I mention the above fact in the interests of our Soldiers, as others have forgotten to point it out to the Public.

The cultivation for the whole distance between the road and the river Caubul is very good, it being covered with cornfields. Sultanpur, a small village, is passed. It is situated 3 miles N of the Caubul river, and there are numerous ruins close to it, which the Seyud told us had formerly been prosperous towns belonging to the Chiefs of Rozabad. Here, also, the country is rich in minerals, particularly iron. This iron is very coarse in appearance, and it is obtained in large quantities. A great trade is carried on all the year round with it.

On the other side of the road, and rising to the hills, the country from

Safed Sang to Jellalabad is more or less rocky, with occasional dips and valleys. This country is mostly occupied by Khugiani [Pathan] villages whose inhabitants employ their time in fighting and robbing one another, and anyone who comes their way. The whole of this country is also rich in minerals especially copper and iron. The former is sent to Caubul and sold to the Amir for his copper coins. From this part of the Country, the beads which are worn by Moolas, and holy men, are found. These beads are made of a mineral called **Cahoo**, and another named **Zaytoon**, and they are always used by Moolas for the purpose of devotion. There are one hundred of them in a Moola's necklace, including at least one green and two blue stones. By moving the beads from left to right when saying his prayers, it enables the Moola to know the exact number of times that he has said the holy word "Allah"!

On approaching the City of Jellalabad, the cultivation looked fresh and green. The Amir's Residence and garden was only about 5 minutes walk from the City, and the narrow road to it passed over a curious old bridge. The house was built with two stories, and had a terrace with a splendid view. The garden is large, and in it there are different varieties of trees, a few yew trees, and a great number of oranges covered with unripe fruit. (70) In the centre of the terrace there is a marble fountain. The walls inside the house are rudely decorated in the Oriental style and made of white **Chuman** [lime plaster], with coloured flowery designs impressed on them.

Outside the City, towards Piper's hill, is the pretty little cemetery, now alas! quite full with the bodies of English Officers and Soldiers, [and] from whence the view to the south of the Safed Koh, covered with snow, is lovely. (71) This cemetery was then [1842] very carefully kept, with green turf and flowers, but now, alas! (it is no use hiding a true fact) every European grave in Afghanistan, from the Khyber to Caubul, has been desecrated by the Afghans in search of loot, leaving the graves open for the bones to be devoured by the Jackals and Pariah dogs. (72)

But to return to Jellalabad. It is like all Afghan Cities, surrounded by a dirty mud wall, with a ditch beneath. Bastions are at each corner of the quadrilateral-shaped wall, and there are Towers over the two principal gates which lead to Peshawar and Caubul. The main street and covered Bazaar runs between these two gates, and here are all the best shops. The street through it is narrow, the shops are built of mud, with flat roofs, and inside are displayed every variety of fruits that are in season; ices [and] sweetmeats of different sorts are displayed piled up like the Great Pyramid. Also, hundreds of rifles, guns, revolvers, swords, and long knives are to be purchased at moderate prices! I bought a gun there, made by Lancaster of Bond Street, for 42 Rupees - in perfect order, and as good as new. A Rupee was, in 1879, worth 1s. 8d, and I sold it some years after for 280 Rupees by auction! Cloth merchants expose for sale Officers' and Soldiers' uniforms of all branches of the Service, and dating in pattern from 1840. I even saw one Naval Captain's full dress uniform exposed for sale. It was valued at 36 rupees, but the man would take 16 rupees for it. (73)

There is a Turkish bath in a dome-roofed house built of brick and stone which we patronized after our hot and dusty march. This bath was used by several of the Officers of the Garrison in the morning, but it was reserved in the afternoon and evening for some of the female inhabitants of Jellalabad! The entrance to the bath is by a low door with steps leading under the house into a dark passage, at the extreme end of which is a small, dark, hot room, with a dirty floor. Two **charpoys** and two chairs constituted the furniture. In this room clothes had to be removed, and then a coloured silk Kumerbund is placed round the loins. This being done, the almost naked bather is led to another dark hot room. The steps by which one must descend are of marble, which are kept always clean. This room is the same size as the previous one, but the temperature is about 160 degrees. Here he is

placed on the marble floor on his back while two naked Afghans at once commence to pour hot water on him. They then soap him all over (I had been previously advised to bring my own soap, which I did, as the stuff that they produce is not of the choicest description). The heat is terrible, yet they persevere in the scrubbing, and they appeared to take off the skin by layers. The torture all over the body at last becomes almost too great to bear any longer, when these cunning fellows suddenly desist, and one of [them] inquires, "What Bakshish does your noble Excellency intend to deign to bestow upon the two meanest of your Highness's Slaves?" The correct answer to this question -- so as not to spoil the Market -- should be: "8 annas to each and 1 Rupee for the bath!" At this they are perfectly satisfied, warm water is applied and, by degrees, cold water. They then wrap you up in warm Persian towels, and the bather is conducted back, to put on his clothes at his leisure, and, after paying the promised Bakshish of 8 annas to each man and 1 Rupee for the bath, he issues out into the street which is densely crowded with Europeans, Sepoys, Afghans and women.

In Jellalabad it was difficult to believe that we were at War in an enemy's country. Officers & Men used to stroll about the City, only wearing revolvers and side arms.

The Afghans here are as in Caubul - fine stalwart men with good features, and some are even nearly as fair as Europeans. They wear **posteens** and **puggeries** of different colours. (74) In passing a stranger in the street, they give a rude stare, and hold their heads erect. They are only really happy when engaged in fighting, murder, and robbery. They love their women. It is very difficult to find out whether these are pretty or otherwise, for the fashion in Afghanistan is for the ladies to cover their heads and faces with a white thick veil, only having holes for the eyes. They also wear long loose blue garments [**chadris**], covering the body and ankles, so it would have been impossible to know whether they had any personal attractions. My friend, the Seyud, told us that many of the young girls were simply lovely, with very fair complexions and black eyes, but that as a rule they became very stout about the age of six-and-twenty, owing to the large quantity of sweetmeats that they were in the habit of daily partaking of. He also said that the Lady Husseinie Bee, daughter of Yakoob Khan by an American Wife, was considered by everyone in Caubul to be the most attractive and beautiful woman in Afghanistan. (75) He said that she is very fair, her eyes are black and her hair is brown. Her age was no more than fifteen, and though she had not had the advantage of reading any of our modern novels, [she] had formed a very decent idea of the pleasures of matrimony. And he further said that she would probably soon be married to the son of Muzaffer-ed-Din Mirza who is the Heir-Apparent to the Shah of Persia. (76) He is reputed to be very wealthy in gold and jewels, handsome and thin, and he is in fact the very "beau ideal" of her maiden dreams!

That afternoon we witnessed a game of Polo and a Cricket Match. A Military Band played, & in the evening a big dinner was given at which we were present. The menu which our gallant hosts provided consisted of: -

Soup - oxtail (The Commissariat Sergeant supplied the bones).

entree - chicken croquette.

joint - ration beef.

followed by dishes containing 38 snipe shot by 3 of our Hosts that morning at a **Jheel** [marsh] close to the River!

pudding - raisin.

Wines - rum and water.

and Fruit followed by black coffee.

Cigars were then passed round and pipes produced. The dinner was an excellent one. The snipe were cooked to a T. [and served] on toast, but were found to have a very peculiar muddy flavour, and were not equal to English or Indian ones, either in size or rapidity of flight. There was also capital Teal shooting to be obtained on the Caubul River, but it was not considered safe to go out shooting unless at least three Soldiers, with their rifles, formed an Escort!

After dinner all the Officers in Camp had been invited to assemble round a large blazing fire, and about fifty turned up, each bringing his own rum, and some bringing brandy, or whisky. All this liquor was thrown anyhow inside two large *dechies* [iron cooking vessels] containing boiling water, with plenty of sugar and lemon. Several curious mixtures were drunk that night, causing many violent headaches next morning. The first health that was drunk was to "Her Majesty, the Queen Empress of India;" the second health was drunk to "His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales;" and the third health was to "Our noble Selves with confusion to our Enemies!" Several songs with chorus were sung.

The following morning the Party retraced their steps to Safed Sang, with 379,500 rounds of ammunition and 38,000 Rupees in bags, and a special escort of Bengal Cavalry. I was enabled to examine a few of the many *tumuli* on the plain leading from Jellalabad. (77) One of them was named Tappa Ashruk, situated near a very large and precipitous nullah N of Char Bagh, at the bed of which flows the Sultanpur river. It is of great size, but unfortunately in ruins. The Seyud informed me that inside every *Tumuli*, for centuries, have been buried holy men with precious stones and gold, silver, and copper coins. In the centre of all these *Tumuli* is a cupola under which coins will be discovered, and if one digs down deeper, more coins representing a previous century will be found. Even to the depth of 150 feet, coins & precious stones will be found, some of them being even Roman and Grecian. (78) Tappa Ashruk is quite 90 yards in circumference as far as one can judge, but a great amount of the material must have been removed from the ruins. I inquired whether anybody had dug down in the centre to get the coins and treasure, and the reply was: "No, these Afghans are too lazy!" I then inquired: "Why don't you?" And his answer was: "If I attempted it, they would murder me and seize whatever I found." Close to Sultanpur are four *tumuli*, very substantially constructed. They are in ruins and have never been opened. The Seyud told me that men's bones are frequently also found beneath the cupola.

In many cases caves are to be found close to these ruins, in which the Moolas used to reside and guard these holy places. (79) At one time there must have been an enormous and important town at Rozabad and Sultanpur. (80) There is another place in this valley from which the scenery is very picturesque, named Pesh Bolak, where there are numerous topes and caves. (81) I was able on four occasions only to visit three of them; but I was told that there are as many as 22 of the former in which coins have been found, of different dynasties, and [that] the greater number of them depict a Prince on horseback, named Azes! (82) There are also to be seen the ruins of the *tumuli* and caves of Hadda, situated about 4 miles S of the City of Jellalabad. Should excavations ever properly be made there, any interested Syndicate [would well be repaid] by the ancient gold coins, vases, precious stones, etcetera, and antiquities which would be found! (83)

The Caubul river at Jellalabad has 3 fords by which it can be crossed, while nearly opposite Barikab [Barikao?] it has 4 fords, and throughout the year it forms numerous rapids and whirlpools. It is usually very much swollen, and the crossing by day is a very risky affair for Cavalry and Infantry. Several expeditions had to cross by these difficult fords, and some lives had been lost, and soldiers had, in some cases, been obliged to

drop their rifles. It was, however, at about 11.15 pm when the 10th Hussars lost so many Troopers and horses. 70 of them left camp with the 11th Bengal Lancers about 10.30 pm, to visit the Laghmans on the other side of the River, on the evening of the 29th March 1879. They attempted to cross at a place where there are only two fords. The first ford, which was to a large sandbank, was accomplished without accident! From this place to the other side of the river, the ford curves upwards, so as to avoid 3 rapids which rush between 3 narrow sandbanks further downstream. The 11th Bengal Lancers were leading, and following their guide, crossed to the other side in safety. Behind them came a few mules laden with ammunition, and the 10th Hussars. These mules unfortunately did not turn up stream, but instead, went straight down to the Rapids, followed by the 10th Hussars who were unable to see the mistake which had occurred owing to the darkness.

In this way, Lieutenant [F.H.] Harford and forty-six Non-Commissioned Officers and men were drowned, and also a number of horses. Many others also were swept down with the current, but fortunately were enabled to reach one of the three sandbanks. Search was made for the missing bodies as soon as the Catastrophe became known to those who had crossed the ford in safety, and several were recovered. These were buried with military Honours on the following morning in one big grave in the Jellalabad Cemetery! (84) The whole romance of our Wars with Afghanistan, and [of] our losses caused by battle, murder, treachery, Cholera, Smallpox, fever, and "bad luck" (like what happened to the 10th Hussars) can be seen and understood by entering one of the numerous cemeteries, or by noticing solitary little mounds of earth which are to be seen everywhere.

We halted again for the night at Rozabad. The old Chief had gone to Caubul, but his Servants had a repast ready for us, followed by Tea. I inquired where the Chief purchased his Tea, and I was told that his Agents in Peshawar always bought it from the Doonagherry Tea Plantation near Almorah in the Himalayas. When they gave an Order for Tea to be sent, they always paid in Advance 1/2 the actual price, and the carriage fare to Peshawar, and on their Agents receiving it safely, the other 1/2 was at once paid. The Chief then made his own arrangements for its conveyance from Peshawar to Rozabad, and they had never had any bother about it!

The following day we moved on and halted for the midday meal at Futtehabad, where there is a village. The road is, for the first part, sandy, then stony, and the latter part again sandy. We crossed a watercourse before reaching the village and we found several British & Native Troops encamped on the left hand side of the road, about 200 yards from the village. The elevation here is over 2,000 feet higher than Peshawar, and 1,100 feet above Jellalabad. Sugar cane is grown in large quantities around, and outside each house one sees the women grinding corn.

The Quarter Guards of this Camp face to the S.W., from whence a fine view is obtained. A low ridge of hills surrounded it in front, in a horse-shoe shape. The inhabitants of this place had remained faithful to the British, for which the neighbouring Khugiani tribes had threatened to attack them and burn their village to the ground. It was at this place, in 1841 [Jan. 1842], that the few men who, out of the British Army of 5,500 [see n. 55], having succeeded in escaping there from the last massacre of the 44th Regiment at Gandamak, had stopped on the promise of water being given to them, were at once murdered!

In front of the camp a range of hills runs at right angles through Khaja to the Khugiani country, and between these two is a valley of rich soil cultivated with wheat and sugar cane for a distance of over 6 miles. In the centre of [this valley] is a small stream running from the Safed Koh to the Caubul River, which is much used for irrigation. In this valley there are several villages and beneath the plateau of the ridge is the large village of Lungai which is, in fact, a fort with a high loopholed wall around it. All



Afghan Women at work grinding corn



these villages have gardens which are surrounded with trees (principally mulberry), and each village has its own tower which had been blown up in succession after the action of Futtehabad. (85) It was at this fight that 5 Moolas, or Priests, were caught in the act of murdering some of our wounded Soldiers, and mutilating our dead. These were ordered to be shot and buried. This was done close to camp and on very suitable ground, in every respect, except one, and that was that the place selected was composed of hard ledges of rock covered with huge stones. The dead Moolas were, in consequence, placed only about a foot under the surface, side by side, and covered over nicely and smoothly with a large heap of flat stones. On the following day all the Troops moved on to Safed Sang, being relieved by the 3rd Brigade. On the Quartermaster of the British Regiment's arrival to pitch the new Camp, he thought - "What a nice comfortable Mess table that heap of stones will make for the Officers Mess." So the Officers Mess tent was pitched exactly over the place. On the first day all the Officers said, "How nice and comfortable!" On the second day they noticed "a peculiar smell!" and on the next day "the smell was awful!" A young Transport Officer happened to pass through that morning from the Front, and he told them that they had selected the grave of the 5 Moolas for their Mess table. On hearing this there was a hurried departure!

There is no place (perhaps) I have ever been around which the destructive traces of War are so distinctly seen as in the country between Futtehabad and Rozabad. My host, in whose company I dined, astonished me by a display of feeling which I little expected from a man 6ft 4in high; he had left his tent before me, saying that he would take a stroll through the ruins and the Tumuli which are situated between the road and the Caubul River, whilst I went to see that my Men, Ammunition, and Rupees were all right, and he pointed to a Tumulus (partly in ruins) as the place where I should find him. Having completed my duties I repaired thither, and to my surprise discovered him seated on a stone, and looking so much like Caius Marcus mourning over the ruins of Carthage that I could not help telling him so. He laughed, and said it was the view of the ruined towns that made him appear so sorrowful. The prospect was certainly dismal enough. Ruins were to be seen

everywhere, and ramparts which anciently surrounded these ruins were broken down and appeared everywhere to be fast crumbling to pieces, whilst there were only these sad ruins to show that a Town of importance had ever been situated there!

As we were moralizing on the miseries of War, the Seyud who had followed me came up and said:

Oh Gentlemen, if you or I had seen this place in its grandeur, as my great Grandfather did, we would indeed be astonished. About 78 years ago it was a fine City governed by the princely house of Rozabad whose Chief whom you know is one of the Descendants. The name of the Prince, or Amir, in those days was Alla Khan. He had provided everything necessary for the inhabitants during the dreadful famine of 1802, but died of grief when the place surrendered to an Afghan Chief named Dost Mahomed who seized all the grain in the Forts and Towns for his Army. There being none other to be obtained in the Country, the Natives, and in truth almost everyone, perished from famine. This man Dost Mahomed was the author of all this ruin! He and his followers razed these Towns to the ground; and not contented with the murder, havoc, and robbery that he had committed, he marched to Caboul with his Brothers and drove out the Royal Family, and with the exception of a short period during which the British replaced Shah Shuja on the throne, he remained a torment to all good Afghans till his death. People think that he died a natural death, but they make a mistake, for the Tyrant was murdered by his two Brothers who concealed his death and reigned in his place. (86) Their power, however, was very limited, the Chiefs at that time being almost independent, but always combining to resist a foreign Enemy!

We remained amidst these ruins till 10.30 pm, and then returned to Camp. Next morning at 5.30 am, hot tea having been served out, the animals were reloaded and the march was resumed. It is a curious sight to see the Afghan women hard at work at this hour while the men are snoring peacefully. I have already given a sketch of two Afghan women at the hand mill, which sight is to be seen whenever there is anything to grind. I will now describe the Afghan system of rice cultivation!

In rice cultivation the fields are divided into squares with small earthen banks of about 2 feet high round them to retain the rain water. These squares vary in size, and are adapted to the general level of the country. On a slightly sloping ground they are disposed in a succession of terraces. When the Monsoon sets in these squares soon get full of water. (87) They are then ploughed with a simple wooden plough. Women, buffalos, and Donkeys are used for this work. The ground is then reduced to liquid mud, and the young rice plants, previously sown in separate fields, are then transplanted. In a few days the whole country is one sheet of beautiful green just appearing above the water, and by the time that the rice is ripe all the water has evaporated, and the ground and stalks are perfectly dry. The plant is reaped by the women with a sickle, and a smooth earthen floor having been prepared in one of the fields, the grain is tread out by oxen or

buffalos (if there are any) being made to walk round in a circle. Should there be no oxen or buffalos, Women & Children perform this work. (88) I must say that the Children appeared to rather enjoy the fun of it, as they were dancing and singing the whole time. The grain is afterwards winnowed. A woman, or a boy, standing on a [raised] stage formed of a few poles, scatters the grain out of a basket work sieve. The rice straw is used as fodder. In some parts of Afghanistan rice is raised by irrigation, the fields being filled with water from a stream; but seldom from a well as the plant requires too much water. The usual manner of irrigating land near a river, or well, in Afghanistan is by raising water by [from] wells and streams by Bullocks working on an inclined plain as follows. The water is contained in a leather bag with two openings. The bag, or bricket, being drawn to the surface empties itself by the smaller opening; the bullocks are then backed [along] the inclined plain which causes the bucket to descend. The driver always seats herself on the rope which is made of leather, and thus adds her weight to the bullocks!

Having just described the methods of treading out grain and winnowing, I now come to the reducing of grain into flour by grinding, which may be looked on as of primary importance. And in this respect Afghanistan is far behind any other Country! Rice does not require to be ground. The husk is separated from the grain in a small wooden mortar, the pestle being 3 or 4 feet long. The women stand up at this work. Rice is always [eaten] boiled. Nearly all the wheat, **Bajaree** and other common grains, are ground in small stone hand mills by women, two of whom, seated opposite each other on the ground, turn the upper stone by means of a wooden handle, at the same time pouring in the grain at the centre. It can easily be conceived how tedious and fatiguing such a process must be.

In baking bread, or sooner wheaten cakes, leaven is not used, nor have I ever met with ovens in Afghanistan. (89) The flour is mixed with water, milk and butter, and when kneaded into round flat cakes is placed on flat iron plates, and thus baked on an open fire. This also is the daily work of the women, each family preparing for themselves. Clarified butter, or Ghee, enters largely into the Culinary art of the fair Afghan female sex. It is stored in large bottles made of leather, and tho' ever so rancid is much appreciated by the Afghans. Wine is procurable, but what I tasted (although said to be 7 years old and of a superior flavour) was sad stuff. (90) The dried fruits, which can be obtained everywhere except in the hills, are very numerous and good, viz., almonds and raisins, pistachio nuts, dried apricots, walnuts, &c., &c. Wax candles can be bought in most of the bazaars, [as well as] vegetables, including turnips, cabbages, beetroot, and radishes! One of the most amusing sights we witnessed on our march was at the shop of a dealer in iced curds, which appears to be a favourite dish with all Afghans, both male and female. The officiating merchant was a portly good natured looking Mussulman who squatted crosslegged in the midst of numerous dishes from which he helped his impatient Customers with a celerity which was quite marvellous to behold! For one pice they received a saucer full of a mixture of milk, wheat, flour, and ground rice, called **Polladah**, over which was scraped frozen snow, [and] upon which he poured a spoonful of some sweet syrup. These ingredients were then mixed together, and appeared to be greatly relished! (91)

Continuing the march for 4 miles, I branched off to the right and rode towards some ruins close to the Caubul River. These ruins turned out to be those of some Palace which must formerly have been owned by a powerful Afghan Chief. It must have been a building of considerable extent, in the usual Mahomedan style of architecture. In front of it were two ruins of detached pavilions; these appeared to have been ornamented with bands of glazed porcelain tiles, yellow and blue, a few of which still remained. A short distance from this ruin is a fine Tank with flights of steps leading to the



Irrigating land in Afghanistan

water which is connected by a channel with the Caubul River. The whole of the steps are made with cut stone; in the Centre is a small island with the remains of a footbridge which connect it to the shore. The Afghans called the Tank "Beebee". On the Tank were numerous wild duck and geese, and we managed to shoot 1 goose and 9 duck! (92) At one corner stands the ruins of a Tomb which had at one time, without doubt, been built in the Moorish style, but which does not seem ever to have been used, there being no trace of a grave. (93) On the opposite bank of the Caubul River there were more ruins and an "Ide Gha" [Id Gah] on a small hillock close by. These "ide Gha's" always consist of a plain wall, and a level paved platform on one side, so that the worshippers at prayers may always face towards the holy city of Mecca. Once during the year, the Mahomedans assemble at the "Ide Gha", and repeat their Creed; they also sacrifice a goat or sheep. It seems a copy of the old Jewish practice of the Passover. (94) About a mile off is a small hillock which was pointed out as the spot where in olden times public Executions took place.

We arrived at Safed Sang about 5 pm, in perfect safety and without a mishap to man or beast, Treasure or ammunition, and at dinner that night the goose and the wild duck were pronounced delicious by all!

In the meantime, Yakoob Khan had been recognised by the British Government as Amir of Afghanistan [April 1879]. Working parties had been employed in pitching his Camp on ground situated on the other side of the river, close to the village of Hashen Khel, and immediately opposite our Camp, and a large Marquee was pitched for him under some high trees. On the 8th May he arrived, being received with Military Honours. He arrived riding with General Daoud Shah, and other Afghan friends, and was welcomed by the Political Officer (the late Sir Louis Cavagnari) and a detachment of 10th Hussars. All the Regiments of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, having made themselves look as smart as possible, paraded and marched across the river to Yakoob Khan's Camp. A Guard of Honour was placed over the Marquee intended for his reception. The 3 British Regiments were placed in one Brigade, and the Native Infantry Regiments were in 2 Brigades, and all the Cavalry Regiments formed a Cavalry Brigade! The Troops were formed up on both sides of the road to his Camp and looked very imposing. (95) Arms were presented and the Bands played 'God save the Queen'! as they did not know the Afghan National Air, and the Troops, with bands playing, returned to Camp.

A great deal of discussion ensued on arrival in Camp as to what Yakoob Khan looked like, and the general opinion of Officers and Soldiers was far from complimentary! (96) In our Camp, and under British protection, was an

Afghan named Wali Mahomed; this gentleman was by no means pleased to have his dear nephew Yakoob in such close proximity. The two were very bad friends owing to the uncle having in former years enticed his nephew from Herat to Caubul, where he was immediately put in prison by his Father the Amir Shere Ali. Wali Mahomed gave himself up at Hazir-pir in the Kurram Valley on the 1st February because Yakoob had written to order him to proceed to Caubul, and he feared that his nephew would pay off old scores by either taking off his head or by putting him in prison. He was treated with courtesy in the Kurram Head Quarter Camp, where he remained for a short time when he was allowed to join the Jellalabad Force! (97) In appearance, he is not much to look at. His hair, face and body, is black. He has small twinkling eyes, a Jewish nose, and splendid teeth. His height is about 5 ft 8 in, and stout in proportion. It is not easy to realise that the Sirdar is a great personage amongst his own people, having at his command plenty of Wives, armed followers, and last but not least - Rupees - !! he being the owner of the greater part of the Khost Valley, and a part of the Kurram, for his apparel is very dirty and shabby. He spent each day in loitering silently about his Camp, occasionally squatting on the ground to smoke his hookah, like any other Native belonging to his dirty retinue. He refused to visit Yakoob Khan, and remained in our Camp.

The only soldiers that Yakoob had brought with him was a Guard of Afghans dressed as Highlanders! (98) These men were all tall and well made, and looked well in their Kilts which were made of different colours. They were very slack as regards discipline, and mounted Guard over Yakoob Khan's Tent in a most slovenly way, squatting on the ground with their rifles between their Knees, smoking hookahs, or leaving their posts frequently to get a drink of water, or to carry on an animated conversation usually about pice, annas, or rupees!

About this time [May 1879] Cholera began to appear in Peshawar and Ali Musjid; (99) it soon worked its way up to Jellalabad, and in consequence, two flannel belts were added to each Soldier's Kit. The heat of the weather began to get more oppressive every day, and at night a gale of hot winds often blew, filling the interior of the tents with a thick layer of dust. The Thermometer in the early morning often stood at 52 deg., and in the middle of the day it would rise [to] 104 deg. in the shade. In consequence, the health of the troops began to suffer. The Field Hospital was soon very full with sick Officers and Men with typhoid and remittent fever; measles also made its appearance, and three Officers were so unfortunate as to be confined to their tents with it for a fortnight, being shunned in consequence by everybody. Wooden huts had been erected for the Hospital. This was a great comfort for the Sick as the temperature inside them was 30 deg. cooler than in the tents, and several deaths occurred among the Officers and Men. There is, on active Service, nothing like forced inaction to create sickness!

The 25th May being the Queen's Birthday, there was a Grand Review and March Past. (100) In the evening there was a Concert given by the whole of the European Bands. The stage was at the bottom of a circular ridge, and round the slope of this ridge, in tiers, trenches were cut forming seats, the back seat being almost at the top of it and about 100 feet distant from the Stage, the whole forming a large Amphitheatre with an accommodation for quite three thousand people. Empty rum and brandy bottles, with their bottoms cut off and candles inserted, formed the footlights. Signal lamps were also used to help light up the Stage which was prettily decorated with arms and evergreens! All the Audience were armed, and on the top of the ridge, standing well out against the sky, could be easily seen a Picquet of one hundred rank and file to protect the Theatre from being surprised!

The Concert consisted of Operatic music by the combined bands, sentimental and comic songs, and in the middle of the performance, the "Queen Victoria gallop" was played and sung by the bands when the whole Audience

stood up!

Dust storms were of daily occurrence and every man ate at least one peck of it in his meals. Mat enclosures for cooking purposes, surrounded outside by a high stone wall, were erected, but with only partial success; it was found impossible to keep the dust away from flavouring the bread, meat, sugar, salt, tea, milk, and rum bottle!

On the 27th May, the Amir having expressed a wish to see some gun practice, the Heavy Battery of 40-pounders, The Royal Horse Artillery, Latours [de Lautour's] Mountain battery, (101) and the Gatling guns, were paraded early in the morning for Artillery practice. The fire was directed at a small hut on a ridge situated at the opposite side of the Nimla Valley - the 40-pdr Armstrong guns, especially, making very accurate practice at every distance, each shell bursting exactly over the hut which was soon totally destroyed. The Gatling guns, which had recently been received from England, did not work well in consequence of there being a screw loose somewhere. These Gatling guns were, on the following day, sent to the best Armourer in the Camp, but even he was unable to get these guns into working Order. (102) The Royal Horse Artillery and Latour's [de Lautour's] Hazara Mountain Battery both made very excellent practice, but on this day it was evident to everybody that Yakoob Khan and his General Daoud Shah took most interest in the shooting of the 40-pdrs.

Life went on in Safed Sang very much as usual. The Fort was built and filled with Ammunition and Stores. Yakoob Khan made no signs of returning to Caubul, and it was rumoured that he was receiving from the Indian Government an allowance of seven hundred Rupees per day as long as he remained as our Guest. One day he expressed a wish that a Soldier of the 17th Regiment might be brought before him in full Marching Order so that he might examine his accountments! This was, accordingly, done and the Soldier, having entered the Marquee, Yakoob carefully examined his accountments, Martini-Henry Rifle, and ammunition! (103) Holding the Rifle, he [the Amir] took a round of ball ammunition and, slowly putting it into the chamber, closed the breech and commenced to play with the trigger with his fingers. An Afghan loves a practical joke, and it is very probable that he did this so as to enable him to enjoy the fun of seeing those who were present trying to induce him to return the rifle in safety, for they all thought that he might press the trigger by mistake and shoot himself or someone else present. He played all sorts of pranks - fixing bayonet with the rifle loaded, and this he did in a very clumsy manner - then he looked down the muzzle to see whether he could see anything.

I have often thought, what a pity it was that he did not shoot himself on this occasion! If he had done so, what a saving of valuable lives of Civilians, Officers, and Soldiers would have taken place? The return March of Death [to India] would not have later on been ordered, but instead of being marched into the jaws of Cholera, our Troops would have gone direct to Caubul! Cavagnari, Hamilton and his gallant Guides would not have had their splendid fight [at Kabul] previous to being massacred a few yards distant from Yakoob Khan who, although being well aware of what was going on, neither went himself, nor sent his Troops, nor attempted in any way to save the British Envoy and his Escort. (105) The march on Caubul by the Kurram, Khyber, and Candahar Forces would not have ensued and subsequent loss of life by the numerous engagements and battles would not have been mourned over by Widows, children and Relatives. Lord Roberts' famous March to Candahar would have been a dream, likewise would have been our defeat at Maiwand. Had I known that all these disasters were about to take place, I should have stepped forward & sent Yakoob Khan to where he ought to be now! (106)

To calm my feelings I rode to the Tank "Beebee" which I have already mentioned. It is without doubt one of the most sequestered and lovely spots in the world. This place took my fancy. The Trees around it are oaks and

this hurried sketch from the Island of a portion of the Tank, I am afraid, does not do due justice to its real beauty. I shot eleven Teal and a wild swan. A dinner was given in Camp and the latter was pronounced to be in taste decidedly fishy!



Tank "Beebee" with Afghans praying towards Mecca.

Chapter Two

On the 31st May [1879] a friendly Alliance & Treaty between the Government of India and the Amir Yakoob Khan, and duly signed by His Excellency the Viceroy and sealed by him at Lahore, arrived at Safed Sang, when 31 guns were fired from the Heavy battery in honor of the occasion, and to proclaim to the World that perpetual friendship and union shall last for ever and ever between the British Government and Afghanistan! (1)

There were several articles to this Treaty, one of the most important of them being that the Indian Government engaged to give the Amir £60,000 a year, and to support him against any foreign enemy with money and arms; also, if considered necessary, with Troops. A Scientific, or Military, Frontier which was deemed important for India to possess, was annexed to our dominions by one of these articles. The land that we took was the Khyber pass, as far as Landi Kotal, and the principal passes leading into Eastern and Western Afghanistan. (2) Last, but not least, [the Treaty provisions called for] the immediate fatal withdrawal of our Armies inside that Scientific Frontier, where the whole country and roads were infected with Cholera and all sorts of diseases, [and] also [for] the appointments of an Embassy, [consisting of a] British Envoy and Escort, to reside in Caubul. (3)

The disgust and indignation felt by most Officers and Men at this sudden withdrawal from Afghanistan was, to a certain extent, neutralised by the pleasing intelligence that on our arrival in India six months ~~batta~~ money would be presented to every Officer and Soldier, European or Native, who had crossed the Frontier! There were a great number who were disappointed, as they well knew the cunning nature of the Afghan, and that this much vaunted perpetual friendship and Union would only last as long as we kept a large Army in Afghanistan ready to march on Caubul at an hour's notice! (4)

On the following morning, the 1st of June [1879] our first movement towards India commenced. Yakoob Khan, on the following day, asked permission for the Bands of the European Regiments to play to him. This was, accordingly, done by the Bands of the 17th, 51st, and Rifle Brigade, at his Camp in the afternoon. The Amir, with General Daoud Shah and some Natives, sat outside the Marquee and evidently enjoyed the Music! of which only Marches and Selections were played. At the conclusion of the Concert he presented to each Band the sum one hundred and fifty rupees in cash!

On June 4th, at 5 pm, Major Cavagnari presented Yakoob Khan with the presents sent from the Government of India. Three ~~dhoolie~~ loads containing refreshments, with ~~Khitmudgars~~, had been previously sent across the river to the Amir's Marquee. (5) The ceremony of presenting the presents took place after the usual formalities.

Some of them [the presents] were very valuable, including four of the best horses in Camp, two of them being Arabs of the purest breed which had, till lately, been the property of two Cavalry Officers! There were also a great number of jewels of all sorts, rings of various kinds, guns, swords, and revolvers inlaid with gold and studded with jewels. One of the most remarkable [of the] presents given to him was a very handsome large musical box with silver Kettle drums playing inside. It could play 14 different tunes. This present took the Amir's fancy wonderfully, and he was so

delighted with this new toy, that he made his Servants keep it wound up with the drums playing all day and all night! He received the other things as if they were not worth the trouble of admiring them, and as if it was a matter of course, simply glancing at each one as it was brought, and ordering his Servants to remove it! Presents of value according to rank were presented to everyone in his Retinue!

On the 5th June, accompanied by the Seyud [Ameen Moola Imayut Ulla] and 3 Sowars, I rode down the Valley to the S. towards the village of Altanoor, and to our surprise we came upon a large, well kept village, named Logar, which is completely hidden in the valley by the curves of the hills and hillocks. It is distant, as we went, about 29 miles. We were very civilly received by the Chief who gave us food consisting of a large dish of Pilao. This dish is composed of cut up chickens, ducks, and partridges; hardboiled eggs, with the shells removed, and cut in half; cooked rice, with raisins and currants. The Chief, who was named Baz Bahadoor, and his 3 Sons eat [ate] with us. There were no knives, forks, or spoons, but everyone plunged his right hand into the dish and grabbed a piece of the fowl, duck, or partridge; thrusting his left hand in immediately afterwards to obtain a handful of rice, egg, & currants. Then gobble, gobble, was the order of the day! (6) Occasionally the Chief, or one of his Sons, would see what he considered was a "Tit-Bit." This he would at once seize in the fingers and offer to me!

The Chief told me that his place was only the small Logar, and that the large Logar was 22 miles distant. We told him the news, and he said that he was glad the War was over. He knew Peshawar and Lahore, having had occasion to go there on several occasions. He owned, in the valley, a Park of about 300 acres, with some fine trees and open glades; and with the hills in the distance covered with thick underwood, the prospect was very pretty. He ordered that our horses should be fed, watered, and looked after, and to my surprise he produced a bottle of brandy bearing the label of Jehangeer, Peshawar, and covered with wire. He said that this, with 35 other bottles, had been "found" by some of his men who happened to be travelling 3 weeks previously from Peshawar, through the Khyber pass. These men had taken a short cut to the left, and [had] reached his village of Logar, via the Bazar Valley and Pesh Bolak. He also produced a box of Cigars, and said that 11 other similar boxes had been "found." This box contained 100 Trichinopoly Cigars. I smoked one, & filled my light kharkee bag with them. I also filled my rum flask with the brandy, and thought kindly of poor Jehangeer! Over the gateway of the Fort (which latter was built in Persian style), an inscription which I am sorry I did not copy, is above the centre Arch. The date is ~~945~~ A.H. 982. The Seyud told me that the year 1880 would answer to A.H. 1296. Therefore, this inscription appears to be 314 years old. That afternoon we returned slowly to Safed Sang, passing some fine wells and numerous ruins.

That day [5 June] Yakoob Khan had very much amused himself. A Guard of Honor had been furnished and he did not see why they should do nothing to amuse him! He, therefore, requested that they might be put through their "gun drill;" they, in consequence, had to perform the Manual, platoon, and bayonet exercises for the Amir's delectation, and, having been pleased to express himself very much gratified, he mounted his horse. The Guard of Honor saluted, the Band, as usual, played "God save the Queen," the Hazara Mountain Battery fired a salute of 21 guns, and the Amir rode off to his Camp, followed by a smart escort of the Guides Cavalry and his own dirty unwashed retinue. I must say, that a remark of Tommy Atkins appeared to me to be very much to the point, and I must add that Tommy is seldom wrong in his conclusions! It was this:

"I say, Bill. The blessed Government is a rum lot to go and give to that dirty black nigger all that money, all them jewels, them horses, guns,

and swords, to be used against us, and also the blessed Musical box, while they only give us a few rupees for **batta**, we having done all the work."

"Yes," replied Bill. "I believe you my lad. If it was the likes of me to Order, I would order them soap and make them use it, and I would order myself an extra tot of rum, and I'd make me drink it!"

Next day, a rumour of very bad news arrived, viz., that the 10th Hussars and Royal Horse Artillery who, with two Squadrons Guides Cavalry, had left Safed Sang for India on the 1st June, had one hundred and eight cases of cholera, and that already sixty-nine men had died within a few hours! The Rifle Brigade had also had a few deaths, and H.M. 51st Regt a few cases; but the two latter had not quite arrived within the Cholera Zone. On that day, the 6th June, at 4.30 am, H.M. 17th Regiment, guarding the Field Hospital, marched from Safed Sang, en route to our Scientific Frontier Station, Landi Kotal. That morning, Sir Sam Browne and Staff breakfasted with Brigdr General Tytler and Staff in the Head Qr Camp, General Tytler having previously removed everything there. Three of us went out shooting early that morning and returned in time to have 8 Teal and 11 Snipe cooked with the usual Ration Meat. At this meal (as usual) everybody had to produce his own knife, fork, mug, and plate, and these had all been laid out on the deal table!

The servants were busy cooking, and for a short time the hut was vacant. Suddenly, a **Khitmudgar** frantically shouted out that all the knives, forks, and spoons had been stolen!

The Alarm was only too true! A Sowar was at once sent full gallop to the bridge, as the **Khitmudgar** remembered that he had seen a suspicious looking Fakir loitering about. This man was luckily caught, just on the other side of the bridge, and hidden on him were found the knives, forks and spoons! This was fortunate, for had the thief succeeded, Sir Sam Browne and Staff would have been obliged to have eaten their last meal in Safed Sang in the Oriental style!

The Fakir was at once sent to Yakoob Khan's Camp, with a request that he would kindly punish him. Everybody sat down to breakfast to make up for lost time, when suddenly the distant report of a rifle was heard from the other side of the river, and a polite message shortly afterward was received from the Amir to say that he had punished the thief by having him shot! This was enough to make a Christian exclaim "Mon Dieu!" During this breakfast, a most animated and, at one time, rather warm argument took place between two gallant Scotch Officers about the Tartan and Kilt that was worn by the Amir's Highlanders. Both came from different parts of Scotland. This argument was settled at last by calling it a Rob Roy blouse!

After breakfast Sir Sam Browne and his Staff left for Jellalabad, leaving Brigadier General Tytler in command of the Rear Guard. In the afternoon, Yakoob Khan sent one hundred of his Infantry and four Officers to the Fort to take charge of the Stores which we were leaving there. These troops had arrived in his Camp on the previous day, from Caubul. In size and appearance they could not compare with his Guard of Afghan Highlanders, being dressed in Kharkee with black facings, and small black caps. Their officers appeared in dirty scarlet uniforms, and in some instances were mere boys, one of them being a good looking young fellow of about fourteen years of age.

Six European Soldiers had been left behind with the Rear Guard as Signallers, and at this time were strolling about inside the Fort. (8) They happened by chance to notice a cask inside one of the Store huts, which on further examination proved to contain beer! Now these men had not tasted malt liquor for five months, and they were all heartily sick of drinking nothing else but well watered rum. There was no Officer near to tell them that it was wicked to steal the beer which, with many other delicacies, the Indian Government were leaving behind as a present to the good Amir, simply because there were not the camels, mules, and carriages forthcoming to remove

them. The weather was very hot, and they were tired and thirsty from having had to signal political and military messages all the morning, some of the former having been from Yakoob Khan himself. Knowing that neither the Amir, nor any of his troops, were permitted by the **Koran** to drink it, they shouldered the cask and, disregarding the remonstrances of the Afghan troops, carried it off to their tent. Here they found 4 more Comrades who had been left behind in charge of the Transport who collected empty bottles, and in short time enough beer was bottled to last four times their number to Peshawar.

In the meantime, the indignant Afghan troops appeared with all their Officers fully armed and demanded the Cask! but these ten British Soldiers, who had been refreshing themselves out of the cask after the hard work of bottling, got their backs up, fixed their bayonets and came to the Ready with loaded Rifles! and positively refused to give it up. This affair would have ended in a row, had not a Sergeant (noticing that there was something up owing to the excited behaviour of the Afghan troops) doubled up. He at once advised the men to drink the Amir's health all round out of the cask, and then let it go. His advice was at once acted upon and the Afghans departed in peace with the Cask which was minus the beer that had been bottled and drunk!

The night passed quietly, and on the morning of the 8th June, at 4 am, the Hazara Mountain Battery (de Lautour's) fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and the Rear Guard commenced their return march to Landi Kotal! Two companies of Infantry and a squadron of Cavalry remained on the ground to see that the baggage moved off in safety. [There was] a long delay before the last five camels were ready to leave the place, and by this time the Main Body was three miles distant.

Thousands of unarmed Afghans had collected around and were advancing from all sides on the Camping ground. I recognised two of the sons of the chief, Baz Bahadoor, with between 30 and 40 followers who had come from their place, the small Logar, to assist in the loot. These had taken the precaution to come fully armed. The squadron of Guides Cavalry, having provided themselves with sticks, sent out a few Sowars to keep back the mob, which they succeeded in doing, until the 2 companies of the 45th Sikhs were preparing to leave the Camp. The Afghans [then] made an ugly rush into it, shouting and yelling "Allah, al, lul-lul-ool, Allah." An old Sikh native Officer ordered his Sikhs to fix bayonets and load, thinking that he might be overwhelmed by their numbers. The Guides Cavalry charged, and with their sticks beat them back to some distance from the Camp; but being suddenly re-inforced, they wheeled round, and, disregarding the heavy blows which the Guides freely gave them, passed through the Cavalry in thousands, and looted the camp of the matting, tables, chairs, beds, articles of apparel, and worn out tents which the troops were unable to take away, owing to the scarcity of carriage. At this moment the Sikhs and the Guides moved off leaving behind a scene of desolation and many a bruised Afghan! The loss of camels throughout the Campaign had every where been enormous, and these had not been replaced by others; consequently a great deal of property had to be left behind, so the loot obtained by the mob was not inconsiderable! (9)

It had been arranged that on our withdrawal all the Forts and buildings which had been erected for the Hospital Stores and ammunition, at several Posts along the road between Safed Sang and the Khyber, were to be left standing and made over to Yakoob Khan. Inside the Fort of Safed Sang, over 90,000 Rupees worth of Stores, etc., had to be left behind, owing to scarcity of carriage to convey them back to India. A few Officers paid a visit to the stores in the above place, and were greatly astonished to see thousands of tins of soups, vegetables, preserved meats, and even sausages accumulated and piled up anyhow.

So different are the ideas and the manners of the Afghans to those of

Europeans that these Officers thought that, if they failed to imitate their customs, the feelings of our new "Pals" might be hurt, which would have been a great pity as "friendship and union" according to the Treaty was to last for ever and ever between the Afghans and the British. These Officers, after a little consultation at Fort Battye, which was the first halting place, helped themselves to two boxes full of these luxuries, requesting the Sergeant in charge to inform Yakoob's Officer the following morning when he took possession after our departure. The Sergeant "smole," and said that when we left Fort Battye, he intended to do likewise. These stores proved to be of great use to many a sick and weary Officer and Soldier by helping to produce an appetite! This return march to Jellalabad was very disagreeable. The heat of the Sun was intense; the smell from the dead, and decaying camels which lined both sides of the road was almost enough to knock a man down, and, being myself the possessor of a style of nose which is much admired and called the "nez retroussé," I appeared to suffer from the stink more than my comrades. We had also often to pass the dead bodies of native followers who had either died from exhaustion, or cholera! It was easy to tell when they [had] died of the latter disease, as their bodies and limbs were invariably doubled up and a look of awful pain and anguish was to be seen on their faces. It was a curious thing to notice in Cholera, that a Native's face would become a yellowish white colour after death and that a white man's face would take a darkish blue hue!

The cause of the Cholera was at first supposed to have been occasioned through all the streams on the line of march between Dakka and Jellalabad, and especially [those] near Chardeh, being very much polluted. In consequence, the bheesties (water carriers) were unable to obtain good drinking water to put in their mussucks for the use of the thirsty Soldiers, exhausted by the oppressive heat of the day, caused not only directly from the sun. [Heat] radiated from the rocks on each side of the burning sandy, or rocky, road, [and] the glare thus caused to the eyes, and the horrible stench of dead men and dead animals in every state of decomposition, also predisposed both Europeans and Natives to attacks of this nature.

A Soldier, on being attacked with Cholera, had his life terribly handicapped; in fact, the betting was ten to one against his pulling through, for the medical comforts were few, the air inside the Hospital Huts and Tents was foul, and there was no ice!

One of the Medical Officers (Surjeon Major McWalters) had, previous to the march, recommended that every day, after the evening meal, fresh boiling water should be poured on the tea leaves, and the infusion, when cold, should then be poured into each Soldier's water bottle, in which must be first placed the 1 ounce of lime juice and 1/4 oz: of sugar which was supplied daily to each man for the march by the Commissariat. This was carried out, and the advantage gained was, that each man had a safe and cooling drink ready and handy for the following day, and by one of the line Regiments adhering to this advice, only one man had died from Cholera between Safed Sang and Dakka!

The night at Fort Battye passed with only two shots being fired, and the following morning, taking with us the Fort Commandant, Captain R.A. Swetenham (who had given us a most hospitable welcome which was much appreciated) and his Detachment, [the] 27th Punjab N.I., the force marched for Fort Rozabad [and was] obliged to leave behind for the Amir all the valuable stores which had been collected there. Our friend, the Sergeant, kept his word and came with us, and we noticed two camels, each carrying 4 cases of Tarragona Wine which I was informed belonged to the Sergeant. It was probably against his conscience to leave the temptation of drinking Wine to Yakoob and his Mahomedan followers, so he had made arrangements to take away as much as he could carry. After the departure of our Troops, Fort Battye was the scene of a free fight for the possession of these stores. From the road, the report of their guns could be distinctly heard, and late that evening in Rozabad,

the worsted tribe came in to beg the British to return to Fort Battye, to compel the victors to share their loot!

On the 10th [June 1879], early in the morning, having been reinforced by the Garrison of Rozabad consisting of a detachment of 45th Sikhs and some Cavalry, the Force, which was now a large one, marched for Jellalabad. Five deaths from Cholera among the Native Troops had already taken place, and 16 Camp Followers [also] had died from it! Every conceivable precaution had been followed, such as: our Camp had daily been pitched on fresh ground, and strict orders had been enforced as regards the supply of water during and after the March. The water had to be boiled and filtered previous to issue. The water bottles were carefully examined as to cleanliness, and the march was always made as short as possible, in the cool early morning. (10)

On arriving at Jellalabad we found Sir Sam Browne and Staff occupying one of the large high bungalows that had been erected by the Royal Engineers for the European Regiment for the Summer. Here we took up our abode for the night. We were informed that General Tytler was ordered to proceed as quietly as possible to Landi Kotal to take over command of the new Brigade for our Scientific Frontier consisting of Landi Kotal, Ali Musjid and Jumrood. His Head Quarters would be at Landi Kotal, and with him there would be:

H.M. 12th Regiment
H.M. 17th Regiment
11/9 Royal Artillery Mountain Battery
3 Companies of Sappers and Miners
10th Bengal Lancers
24th Punjab Native Infantry
27th do " do.
39th do " do.

It was arranged that on the following morning a raft should be in readiness on the Caubul River to convey General Tytler and Staff quickly to Dakka.

The raft was made with a number of inflated ~~mussucks~~ composed of bullocks or sheeps hides, firmly lashed together with ropes, over which were laid planks of wood. (11) Four natives with long poles steered a raft with the current down the rapids, and at 5 am, having previously loaded the raft with the baggage, General Tytler and his Staff, three Soldiers and one Goorkha accordingly started!

Two other rafts, with Sir Sam Browne and Staff and Major Cavagnari, and both guarded by European Soldiers, left about the same time.

The three rafts moved with great rapidity with the stream, and the Camps at Ali Boghan, Chardeh, Hazar Nao, and Basawal were passed. At these places Cholera was at its height. It attacked both strong and weak, and some of our finest men were suddenly seized with the disorder and succumbed to the disease in a few hours.

It was very pleasant on the raft until 7 am, when the sun became powerful, and the glare from the river was very trying to the eyesight. We sat upon our blankets in the centre of the raft, but as we went like lightning down the Rapids, it was difficult to keep one's balance. Our four Natives steered the raft with great expertness and accuracy, and there was not a single mishap! The banks in several places were lined on both sides with friendly Afghans who had come to bid farewell to Major Cavagnari. Dakka was reached at mid-day. So we had performed the journey in 7 hours which by road would have taken us, with our baggage, 3 days!

Dakka, from the river, was not much to look at. There was to be seen around it a kind of saltpetre appearance which whitened the ground between the Caubul river and the Fort, [and] which rendered the place so damp and



Chardeh on Caboul River

unhealthy. Everyone had a lively recollection of its disagreeable and dangerous effects after trying to sleep a night or two there under canvas! Especially is such the case when one has to sleep upon the ground with a very limited supply of bedding. The Camp of H.M. 51st Light Infantry was situated about a mile outside to the E of Dakka; they had a few cases of Cholera, but fortunately had not suffered like the 10th Hussars, Royal Artillery, and Rifle Brigade. The fine Regiment of 4th Goorkhas had also lost several men. The Hospital was inside the Fort. It was simply crowded, and the place looked very dismal.

Inside the Hospital, lying on rude **charpoys** were numbers of men suffering with the terrible epidemic, many of whom had only a few hours longer of torture to endure before quitting this weary World for ever! The skin of the white man's body previous to death is dark blue in appearance, the eyes become dim, the lips are blue, the patient suffers terrible tortures and can be heard half a mile off by his yells of agony, and, as can be seen, by his poor pinched face. Vomiting, purging, fearful cramp succeeds, and then he is dead!

And a happy release it is! Let them in England give thanks that Cholera has not taken the trouble to leave the happy hunting grounds in the far East! (12)

All in Dakka, except the Guards and Pickets, retired to bed early. My dreams that night were far from pleasant, for I imagined myself on a raft, passing over fearful rapids and quickly approaching a creature covered with red flame, which hurt my eyes even to look at, and who went by the name of Cholera!

I awoke at 3 am with both my eyes red, sore, swollen, and with matter and water oozing out of them. I was luckily the happy possessor of blue goggles which I wore, and at 4 am (June 12th) our Party mounted on Troop horses belonging to the 10th Bengal Lancers and rode to Landi Kotal, distant 11 miles. The road was in good order, the loose stones having been removed.

H.M. 51st Light Inftry were marching through the Pass and halted at Landi Khana where a Camp had been pitched for them. The road on both sides was covered with long thick grass, about 5 feet in height, which would have afforded excellent cover to robbers to plunder and murder our Camp followers. It had been set fire to in several places, but it grew so quickly everywhere that to keep it down, the Khyber Pass would have had to have been in a perpetual blaze; and our Troops found that the heat from the sun was quite sufficient without augmenting it. The General, however, ordered the Troops to set fire to it in one especially dangerous spot, and the result justified his action, for on the first piece of grass being lighted about thirty armed men immediately got up and ran away, firing [and] wounding a trooper of the 10th Bengal Lancers. Some of the Ghoorkas were on the look-out, and they accounted for 7 of them.

The elevation at Landi Khana is 2,520 feet, or about 1,452 feet about [above] Peshawar. There is plenty of cultivation near the village of Landi Khana which is situated on rising ground under the hills, and about half a mile from the pass. From this place, the road has a very steep winding ascent for about two miles, when the summit is reached. The elevation here is 3,420 feet above the sea. Landi Kotal consists of a large plateau on which were encamped the 24th P.N.I., 11/9 RA, 10th Bengal Lancers, and Sappers and Miners, guarding the large Commissariat lines and Ordnance Stores, the Transport lines, and the Hospital. To the left of the road, looking down on Landi Khana, was the Camp of H.M. 12th Regiment, and close to them the General pitched his Camp. The temperature during the middle of the day varied between 102 deg. and 106 deg. in the shade; the nights, however, were very cool and pleasant!

There were heights to the rear of the 12th Camp and at night Guards were always posted on them to prevent the possibility of the Afridis making a sudden raid during the night. On the 13th [June] the Hospital was visited. It contained a great number of cholera cases, and I saw among them a very fine Soldier who was the Farrier Sergeant of the 10th Hussars. He was dying in the tent with 3 other cholera patients, one of whom was in the agonies of cramp, and his screams could be heard all over the large Hospital. The intellect of the Farrier Sergeant was quite clear, which often occurs in cholera just previous to death. He had been told that he could not last longer than an hour and, perfectly resigned to his fate, [he] was listening to some of the comforting words of our Prayer Book which a comrade was reading to him. He and three other men were tied up in their blankets and were buried that evening.

The next day [14 June], the 17th Regiment marched up the hill into Landi Kotal, arriving one day before they were expected, they having left Dakka at 3 am. Their camp was at once pitched on a plateau close to a dilapidated mud Fort and near the Polo ground. The Rear Guard did not arrive until after 1 pm, having lost 1 man from Cholera. Over 80,000 Rupees worth of Stores had to be left behind at Jellalabad for want of carriage, but all the Ordnance were floated down by raft to Dakka.

From this date Soldiers were buried daily, and few men who had been left behind ever rejoined their Regiments; and several Officers also died. The mortality in Peshawar also soon became terrible, the men dying on an average of three a day for some weeks. Among the British Regiments belonging to the 1st Division, the Rifle Brigade lost two Officers and over one hundred rank and file during the Campaign. The loss of the 10th Hussars exceeded eighty Troopers. H.M. 17th Regiment lost four Officers and sixty-eight rank and file, who died between the 22nd December 1878 and October 1879. Out of these, thirty-six deaths were due to Cholera, and the remainder were mostly from pneumonia and dysentery. The 2nd Division were equally unfortunate, and in fact it can be calculated that the material for more than two British Regiments died during this March of Death!

The Native Army were equally unlucky. The Hospitals in Peshawar were crowded with Officers and Men, and the hundreds with shattered health that were invalided that year, many, only to arrive in England to die, gives proof of the great hardships endured by the Troops during the Afghan War.

I will now describe some of the numerous Expeditions which took place around the Khyber and adjacent Heights, and I shall confine myself as far as possible to simply describing the Country! (13)

On the 20th Novbr 1878, the 2nd Brigade, under Genrl Tytler, at 5 pm, marched from Junrood to the Khyber Hills. (14) Each European carried his great coat, 80 rounds, and one day's cooked rations. The Native Soldiers carried their own flour and ghee. The Bands, baggage, and tents were left at Junrood. Having crossed the Frontier, the Brigade marched towards the Khyber Pass for about two miles, and then suddenly turned off to the right, and proceeded in a N.W. direction towards the hills. There was no road or path; the ground was rough, rocky, and covered with prickly bushes. The march was up the bed of a mountain stream in the midst of low hills, with the Heights of Rhotas above, and, as this stream had to be forded several times, Officers and Men were soon wet through.

The main body lost the Advanced Guard. This caused a delay, and when they were found, it was ascertained that the pace had been too quick for the Rear Guard to keep up in the dark. There was in consequence a good deal of low whistling as no bugles were allowed to be sounded, [and] when the Rear Guard was found, the march was continued. At last, about 11.30 pm, the Brigade halted for the night at Lashora, lying down by Companies in their wet clothes. It was bitterly cold all night; no fires were allowed to be lighted. A few men tried to go to sleep, but the majority passed the night tramping up and down. Next morning, at 5 am, hot tea having been served out, the march was resumed in single file on a narrow path leading up the Khyber Hills. The ascent was exceedingly steep, and, had the enemy been there, the summit could never have been reached without the loss of a great many lives. From the summit there was another climb up the Rhotas Mountains to Sul Kahn Burg [Sultan Khel], which was a zig-zag path and very steep. At 11 am the guns bombarding Ali Musjid were distinctly heard, and the Brigade pushed on to Panaipal under the lofty Tartara, arriving there about 1.45 pm. Part of the Brigade had a very steep climb down to Kata Kushtia in the Khyber Pass, thereby cutting off the direct retreat of the Afghans through the Khyber Pass, and the remainder of the Brigade stopped at Panaipal to hold the heights until the arrival of the 1st Brigade which also had to drive the enemy off the Rhotas mountains. (15)

In the meantime a fight had been going on at Ali Musjid. The Afghans [were] holding their own against our Artillery and Infantry, and our Troops had to bivouac that night outside the Fort.

The enemy, however, had perceived the movements of the 2nd Brigade under Tartara and Kata Kushtia, thereby cutting off their retreat through the Khyber Pass. They also had met with the 1st Brigade, who had climbed the Rhotas peak. They, therefore, thought it prudent to bolt from Ali Musjid that night. This they did, but found the 2nd Brigade placed in position and occupying the [Khyber] Pass and the heights on the Tartara side. Here, in the Pass, 233 Afghan Prisoners were secured, and many of the Afghan Cavalry were killed and wounded when trying to gallop past us in the Pass. Here, the Pass is very broad, and owing to the bad light, several Troopers got off untouched.

On hearing the firing in the Pass, the greater number of the Enemy escaped by the Chora Valley, Sissobi pass, and Pesh Bolak Road.

The General, with the remainder of his 2nd Brigade, bivouacked that night (21st Novbr) at Panaipal. In the middle of the cold night, a



Kata Kooashtea [Kata Kushtia], Kyber [Khyber] Pass, and River

tremendous scuffling was heard to rattle all over the place; accordingly the Troops silently fell into their places, expecting soon to distinguish the enemy. It was, however, almost pitch dark and nothing could be seen. The noise got louder and louder, and the enemy were evidently approaching towards the eager Troops, when all at once it was discovered that the noise was caused by a few bullocks. The result was that everybody from the General downwards was disgusted!

On the 22nd November [1878] a Company of H.M. 17th Foot and 100 Sikhs, being left at Panaipal, were attacked that day by 700 Afghans who were retreating from Ali Musjid and were, however, easily repulsed. The remainder of the Brigade went to Kata Kushtia. The descent was very difficult in some places; there was one steep slide of about 30 feet down a smooth rock at an angle of about 47 deg. which each man had to take in turn in a sitting position. Here several severe falls happened. On reaching the Pass at Kata Kushtia, the Brigade was employed in capturing prisoners whose total number, on the evening of the 22nd, numbered two hundred and eighty-eight of all ranks, with two hundred and seventy-five stand of arms, and thirty-nine horses.

Officers and men had had nothing to eat. The Commissariat did not appear, so the Brigdr General [Tytler] sent an urgent message to Sir Sam Browne in Ali Musjid, and he [Browne] sent late that evening seventeen sheep. These were at once killed and promptly cooked and devoured!

Each Officer and Soldier had to cook for himself in his own mess tin; the meat was, of course, rather difficult to swallow as it was very tough, but after due patience at masticating it, even this was accomplished!

The Brigade again bivouacked with nothing but great coats to protect the Men from the cold night air. A few huge fires were, however, lighted, and long grass was collected to make beds.

When it was getting dark, at about 7 pm, footsteps were heard scrambling down the hillside from the Rhotas peak, and suddenly a voice called out:

"Where is the Officers' Mess?"

A sentry answered, "There is no Officers' Mess."

Another voice called out "Where is the Commanding Officer's tent?"

The man replied, "There is no tent here."

These wanderers turned out to be two Officers of the Rifle Brigade who had volunteered to find their way down from the heights of Rhotas, to get water sent up to their men, and also to try to borrow a few blankets for their sick. This Regiment must have suffered horribly from thirst and exposure, for several developed mania, and had to be sent back to Peshawar for Hospital treatment.

The water was sent up at once by Hospital Dhoolie Bearers, but there was not a single blanket in the Brigade.

Next day Sir Sam Browne, escorted by the 10th Hussars and Guides Cavalry, rode through Kata Kushtia. The Brigade at this place was rejoined by the detachment which had been left on the heights at Panaipal, and also by the Camp Equipage and Bands which had been left behind at Jumrood, and had marched through the pass after the taking of Ali Musjid. Bivouacking in the cold Pass again that night, with strong Picquets guarding the heights on both sides, nothing of importance occurred except a few shots fired at us occasionally, which killed a camp follower and wounded a mule. On the following morning, at 6 am, we marched to Landi Khana, passing a few Horse Artillery who had nearly come to grief at a dangerous turn of the Pass near Landi Kotal, one horse being killed. From thence, we marched to Dakka, arriving there at 3pm on the 25th November [1878].

The whole of the 2nd Brigade had passed each night out in the open, with no other protection against the cold damp winds than a military great coat, since the 20th November; so it is not to be wondered if Officers and Men were glad of the opportunity of sleeping on the ground with blankets and a tent

over them. But the real treat was to take off one's boots, have a ~~mussock~~ of water squirted over the head and body, and get a change of clothing, for the first time for 5 days!

There were a few shots fired at us that night from the Lalpura side of the Caubul River [opposite Dakka], and the "shave" told in Camp the following morning was that "the Mohmunds had only discharged their rifles to show their delight at our having arrived at Dakka!" Whatever truth there may be in this, some of their bullets whizzed unpleasantly close to the tents, which may indeed have been by mistake as it was a pitch dark night!

The villagers soon began to bring in sheep, eggs, milk, and vegetables in large quantities for sale. There was, however, one great difficulty to contend against. It was almost impossible to get fire-wood, for love or money, and the small allowance of it issued to each officer by the Commissariat was not nearly sufficient to cook the ordinary ration. It was found to be a good plan to keep up an extra supply, which was managed by making friends with one of the Transport Officers, and getting him to lend two or three mules. These were sent out with the Escort to the convoy proceeding to Landi Khana, which started daily at 6 am, going half way and returning that afternoon. The mules, of course, would return with the Escort, laden with the Khyber wood. We combined together for our meals, three or four Officers forming a Mess. In my Mess one evening our Guest was Mr. W. Simpson, the artist to the *Illustrated London News*!

Mr. Simpson, on this occasion, asked and obtained permission to make a sketch of our camp dinner party, and a capital sketch was the result, which afforded a good deal of amusement! (16) I produce a sketch of the occasion (not Mr. Simpson's).

About 600 Afghan shells and shot found inside the Fort at Dakka were thrown into the Caubul river, being useless to us. Some of our Convoys were occasionally plundered in the Khyber Pass. Orders were then given to take no marauders caught plundering prisoner; they were to be shot at once. Many Hill men and Afghans were in consequence sent off sharp to the happy hunting grounds of their Ancestors!

The monotony of Camp life at Dakka was frequently broken by the Afridi tribes who took it in turn to make raids upon our line of communications in the Pass. One day, news came in that the Dakka grazing guards had been attacked a few miles from the Fort. A force was at once despatched to the place, and found the bodies of one Sowar and two grasscutters who had been killed and mutilated. The Afridis had decamped to their fastnesses with a few stolen camels before our troops could arrive, and according to custom had cut off the head and right hand of each [of their victims. These] were tied to long poles, and were carried by them as a trophy to all the principal villages in the hills!

Another expedition was made into the hills by the 2nd Brigade, to surprise and destroy a fortified village called Chinari, situated S.E. of Dakka. The route lay over the rocky hills, over which we tramped for 16 miles. It was a large mud Fort with two towers, inside of which we found one old woman, several fowls, about 12 dozen eggs, 25 geese, and a few goats. All of these, except the first, were looted, the towers were blown up and the village was destroyed. The Guides were the admiration of the Force during the return march to Dakka for the extraordinary way in which they protected both flanks. Their agility in scaling, and moving along the tops of the rocky hills was wonderful. Dakka was reached that evening, after having marched in single file over a rocky hilly country a distance of 32 miles, and out of the whole Force who marched this distance, and whose number amounted to 2,800 men, only 2 men were carried in *Dhoolies*, both having sprained their ankles severely!

On the morning of the 17th December [1878] a smart skirmish took place in the Khyber Pass. The Afridis had come down a *mullah* from the direction of



Mr. Simpson, Lt. Watson, Capt. Gamble, [Capt. Creed?], Major Utterson

the Chinari village. The country, being covered with tall grass and brushwood, enabled them to surprise the Guard who were obliged to retire, and they had seized two camels and driven them off before H.M. 17th Regt., who numbered 50 men and 70 sepoys, could get to the place. The Afridis, who numbered about 300, were at once attacked. The two camels were recovered and the enemy were chased for 3 1/2 miles on the hills. Eleven of the enemy were found dead, and their rifles and long knives taken. Several of them must have been wounded as blood could be tracked for some distance! The party only got back to Dakka at 10:30 pm.

On the 19th December, the 2nd Brigade, with a Company of Sappers & Miners and two mountain guns, marched towards the Bazar Valley with two days cooked provisions, via Chinari, and the Sissobi Pass. Orders [were] to meet a force in the Bazar Valley who would advance from Ali Musjid, via the Chora Valley, to attack the Zakha Khels, (17) punish hostile villages, and if possible to cut off their retreat! These Tribes had given a great deal of trouble and annoyance in the Khyber Pass, making constant raids on our convoys, cutting off and murdering stragglers in the Pass, and breaking and carrying off the Telegraph wire. (18)

The road being very rough and bad, it was dark before the Force arrived at an open plain covered with long coarse grass and prickly bushes. Having picquets well posted, all lay down for the night in great coats, having previously partaken of slight refreshment in the shape of a small tot of rum which previously had been well watered by a fat Commissariat Baboo to improve the flavour. It is a curious, but nevertheless a true, fact that wherever you go in India, the Commissariat Baboo is always a very fat man! I have never seen a lean one, no more has anybody else! No fires were allowed to be lit, so there was no Tea to be obtained, and the cold wind throughout the night went through one in a most uncomfortable way.

Early next morning [20 December] the march was resumed towards the Pass of Sissobi. The ruins of the village and fort of Chinar were passed, and marching through a narrow valley quite surrounded by hills, the villages of Sissobi were reached at about 1 pm. The Head men came out of their Forts and made their submission by paying down 6,000 Rupees. We marched through the villages and commenced to climb up the Pass in files.

The Summit of the Pass is 4,900 feet; the scenery was exceedingly pretty, and quite a contrast to the rocky country around Dakka, the hills being covered with trees, such as large hollies, mountain oak, wild olive, and ilex. A magnificent view of the whole of the Bazar valley is obtained; [it] is richly cultivated with wheat, and the inhabitants own thousands of cattle, sheep, and goats. On the Summit of the Pass was found a quantity of large bunches of mistletoe. We only saw one human being, and he was one of the Amir's soldiers who had escaped from Ali Musjid. He had a bullet wound through the fleshy part of the thigh which had festered. His gun, bayonet, and accoutrement had been taken from him by the Afridis, and he looked as if he were dying of starvation. The Soldiers took pity on him as they passed. The Commissariat Officer gave him a dozen large biscuits and a tot of rum, and the Medical Officer kindly dressed his wound and bandaged him!

All the fortified villages around call themselves Chinar. (19) Some are built of mud, some of brick, and some of stone. They all have Towers and thick loopholed walls around, and there are hundreds of large caves, each large enough to accommodate thirty men. Inside of them were found huge stacks of *bhoosa*, straw, and grain; also about 150 fowls. Their Towers are substantially built of brick and stones.

The *bhoosa* we at once seized, to make nests to lie on and to keep out the cold night wind. The wood in the houses was used to make huge fires around which we all huddled together for animal warmth after having had a very scanty dinner.

That evening we heard that the Brigade from Ali Musjid had arrived within a few miles of us - under General [Sir F.F.] Maude. Next morning the 2nd Brigade blew up the Towers and burnt the villages. The Zakha Khels afterwards paid a fine of 1,000 Rupees to save their other villages from a similar fate, but their largest Tower was also blown up. At 10 am the Brigade was again on the march, to punish a hostile village named Nekai. Looking back, we saw clouds of smoke which proved that the Zakha Khels had been well punished.

The road to Nekai was westerly. The distance being short, we arrived there about 1 pm, and found the place deserted. The only loot found was a lame donkey, some fowls, and grain. The donkey was shot by a gallant Officer, who constituted himself a Member of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Everything was looted except the dead donkey, and an old woman. We all wondered why these Hill tribes, whenever they deserted their Village Forts, invariably left behind an old Woman. They never left two, or even three, old women or, one, two, or three old Men. No, they never did that, but it was always one old Woman! (20) We destroyed the Fort and village of Nekai, and we continued our march in a Westerly direction towards Pesk Bolak, as the Guides said there was a Pass, called the Thibai Pass, from whence we could go direct to Dakka, or Basawal, and where there was plenty of water! The country was well cultivated, and the ground was good for marching; the air was cool, and everybody was in a good humour, when we suddenly turned off to the right, and entered the Thibai Pass!

Here the change in the scenery was very striking, for on both sides of the road were lofty hills, on which were growing large trees of almost every description. There were Oaks, Deodars, Pines, Beech, Chesnuts, wild Olives, and Hollies. The large trees were covered with various ferns and creepers. The hills on both sides were thickly wooded and Water was to be found everywhere - and it was clear, cold, and good! The Pass became rather wide



Sistobi [Sissobi] Pass with Caves

about two miles from the narrow entrance, and here the Brigade was halted on turf which was fresh and green. Large fires were soon burning and those few men and officers who had any food left to eat were soon busy cooking.

An hour later, the Rear Guard arrived, having been attacked by the Zakha Khels close to the entrance of the Pass. A Soldier of the 17th Regt. had received a severe Shot wound in the thigh - the bone was smashed, and the man on arrival was very weak from loss of blood. Large Picquets were at once sent out to secure the peaks on both sides; all fires were ordered to be extinguished by 8 pm, so as not to give the Afridis a mark to aim at, as everybody thought that a night attack might possibly take place. However, they, for once, behaved in a fairly decent manner, and an uncomfortable night was not made more uncomfortable still by them!

The Khan of Lalpura, with three of his followers, had accompanied us from Dakka as Guides. (21) These noblemen of sorts had had a rare good time of it. They had brought with them plenty of meat and **chupatties** to eat, and hubble bubble to smoke, and they had also secured some loot. The Khan was dressed in a beautiful long green frock coat of cloth, covered with large brass buttons, and trimmed with gold braid. He also wore very tight white trousers, and embroidered Native shoes. Another had on a British Officer's red tunic with extra lace, buttons, and white trousers. They all wore large **puggeries** on their heads, of different gay colours, rode small, ambling ponies, with native saddles, up and down our column of route, taking particular pains to get into the way of Mr. Thomas Atkins who was naturally very much disgusted, and detested the dirty Khan and his followers. Everybody was delighted to hear next morning [22 December] that they had asked permission to proceed at once to Lalpura on rather urgent and particular business which they had to transact. The General [Tytler] being

only too glad to get rid of them, had given them leave to depart at once!

At about 7 am, the 45th Sikhs moved up the different peaks and ridges to the right of the [Thibai] Pass, accompanied by two companies of the 27th P.N.I., to secure the summit of the Pass and hold strategical positions along it. About an hour later, one shot was fired by the enemy and immediately afterwards a regular fusillade commenced from the hills on the left of the Pass. A company of the 17th Regt. occupied these heights and drove back the enemy. At the same time, a man in the Company had a very narrow shave, a bullet passing through his frog and haversack.

At 8.30 am, the General decided that the Column should move forward. The first to start was a company of the 17th, then came our two mountain guns escorted by another company of that Regiment. The Sappers and Miners followed, and immediately behind them came another Company 17th, escorting the unfortunate man who had been wounded on the previous day. One company 27th P.N.I. followed, and the Rear Guard consisted of a company 17th and a company 27th P.N.I., to be re-inforced later on by the 45th Sikhs and the two companies 27th P.N.I., which had preceded the Column to hold strategical Positions along the Thibai Pass!

The road was commanded on both sides by precipitous hills, covered with trees and brushwood. After marching two miles along it, the summit was gained, which was about one thousand feet higher than the place where we had bivouacked. From the time the first shot was fired, one continual roll of musketry took place, the enemy firing on us from every hilltop on both sides of the Pass. The General ordered a few Marksmen of the 17th to open fire on a party of the enemy (about two hundred in number) on a hill to the left. Three volleys were fired at 900 yards, with terrible effect, and that hill was at once cleared of the enemy.

The Zakha Khels could only obtain a very imperfect view of our troops marching along this steep, winding road, on account of the numerous high broad trees, and thick brushwood. Consequently, no casualty occurred until we reached the summit of the Pass.

Here a Sepoy in the Sappers & Miners was badly wounded in the arm. He was at once placed in a **Dhoolie** [which] proceeded on [together] with the wounded 17th man.

The Brigade was exceedingly fortunate in having in their midst the distinguished special Correspondent Mr. Archibald Forbes, of the **Daily News**! also Mr. Hensman [see Chapter 1, n.1] of **Pioneer** fame! The latter had accompanied the 2nd Brigade the whole march from Dakka, and was well known to the 1st Division! The former, however, was only known by name to the 2nd Brigade. He had accompanied the Brigade [General Maude's] that had met us in the Bazar Valley, from Ali Musjid, and he joined us as we were leaving the Valley for the Thibai Pass. He proved a very agreeable and instructive companion and he was full of fun and anecdotes.

On this day [22 December] he had attached himself to a company of the 17th [under Lieutenant R. Gordon Creed] that was then moving forward from the top of the ridge, in charge of the two wounded men in **dhoolies**. He [Forbes] commenced the conversation by asking for tobacco, which was not forthcoming. He began to give his own opinion of the Thibai Pass. Our thus exploring and opening it out, he considered [to be] of the greatest importance, as it proved to be by far the shortest cut to Ali Musjid, or to India (through the Bara Pass) from Pesh Bolak. If a railway eventually is ever made from India to Jellalabad, it would probably run through Peshawar to the Bara Pass, passing through the Thibai Pass, [to] Pesh Bolak, [and] to Jellalabad. I quite agreed with him, and do so now, as it will be by far the shorter and easier route of the two. The only difficult place in the Thibai Pass is a narrow defile which could easily be enlarged by blasting! (22)

Now to return to Mr. Archibald Forbes who did one the honour and pleasure of his companionship during the greater part of this day. I feel

sure that I cannot do better than quote from his famous letter to the **Daily News** (23) It is headed:

"The Raid on the Zukkur Kheyls"

and dated Ali Musjid, Dec 22 [1878]

There was a brisk fire as we moved up from the bivouac place along the steep zigzag road through the trees to the Kotul. I accompanied the company of the 17th (under Mr. Creed) which followed the mountain guns. Bullets were flying about rather freely, but there were no mishaps till the Kotul was reached. Here we found Cook and Kinloch and quite a fusillade was going on; but the only casualty was a sapper shot through the elbow joint. [24] No medical officer was in the vicinity, and the poor fellow was bleeding badly, the bullet having gone through his arm, leaving the double orifice. It has been among my experiences to acquire some rudimentary knowledge of field surgery, and I was able to bind up the sapper's arm, so as to stop the effusion of blood and give him some ease. From the Kotul we plunged into a defile, at once difficult and stupendous in its stern grandeur. The sun in places never reached the bottom of this gorge, and the rivulets of water were frozen into miniature glaciers. We had charge of the poor fellow wounded on the night before, and also of the wounded sapper, and it was an arduous task to get the doolies in which they lay down the precipitous descents and around the sharp, jagged bends. Add to this a dropping fire from the slopes overhanging us and the situation may be acknowledged not quite a pleasant one. However, we got along somehow, without accident, till a bend was reached where the crags somewhat receded, leaving an open space in the shingle of the torrent bed, athwart which wayfarers had to pass. A party of hillmen had ensconced themselves in a position above this open space, at a range of about two hundred yards, and they let drive at the head of our little column as it showed crossing the shingle. The bullets came slapping pretty thick on to the stones. We hurried under cover of the bank; but as I turned round I noticed that the soldier next to whom I had been walking had gone down and was lying on his back out on the exposed spot. Mr. Creed, with half his company, dashed straight up the rugged slope with intent to catch the hillmen in their ambush. I remained with the rest of the men in the bed of the stream, seeing that my rough surgery would again be in requisition. The men of the 17th gave me courageous help in bringing in their comrade from his exposed situation; but we could get no satisfactory

shelter, and I had to see to him with the bullets cutting the turf all around us. It seemed a case of life and death; the man could not bear moving; he was bleeding to death. So we cut his clothes off him, and found that he had been shot through the thigh high up, the femur being shattered. But the femoral artery had escaped, and by plugging and bandaging tightly I succeeded in arresting the loss of blood. Then with great difficulty we got the poor fellow into a dooly, and were free to move on. But a most extraordinary thing occurred, a circumstance almost unique in my experience, and I have been seeing men wounded for some eight years all but on end. Crossing the same spot, a few yards in advance of us, where poor Bashford was shot down, his comrade, Powell, the man whose thigh had been smashed the night before, and who was being carried in a dooly, was wounded a second time in the side as he lay. A glance at this poor fellow showed that he had gotten his death. The bullet had crashed into his lung, and his doom was sealed. [...]

We pressed onward under a dropping fire, under which there were one or two more casualties. We passed through a gruesome gorge, not five feet wide, with overhanging walls that so twisted in their over-lapping that the place seemed a cavern. After some tedious travel the channel began to widen, and few miles further on we reached a village and a few fields, where we halted for the force to close up. Here the wounded were seen to, and the hasty bandaging replaced by more deliberate work. [...] A Sikh ~~naik~~ of the 27th, a fine old soldier with a grey beard, had been shot through one leg and the kneecap of the other smashed by the same bullet, (etc., etc.)

When the half Company which went up the hill had dislodged the Zakha Khels from their ambush on the crag (which was done after a difficult climb), they drove them off the hill, killing nine of them, besides five killed on the crag itself. There were several narrow "shaves" in taking this position and many severe falls also took place. In the Company was a Soldier named Private David Boyle, a short powerful man who could climb up a hill like a goat. He was the first to get up to the top of the hill, after the crag had been taken, and [he] immediately lay down and fired from behind a tree. He suddenly called out: "Lie down, for God's sake, sir!" The officer [our author] stooped, and almost that second two bullets whizzed over his head. Pte. Boyle shot both those Hill men! He received, as a small token of thanks, ten weeks later, a silver watch with his name and an inscription inside. This gallant Soldier lived only a few months to wear it; as at the close of the Campaign, when stationed at Landi Kotal, he was suddenly seized with Cholera and died within a few hours!

After the Hill was cleared of the enemy they [the British troops] took up a position fronting the narrow defile, where one havildar and five Sepoys joined, and held it until the Rear Guard had passed!

Mr. A. Forbes was mentioned and thanked by General Tytler in his report,



Tubai [Thibai] Pass. Mr. Archibald Forbes attending to the Wounded under fire.

and his name was suggested for the well merited distinction of a V.C., for had it not been for his skill and bravery under fire, I firmly believe that the Sapper and Miner would have died from loss of blood. (25) Anyhow, he bandaged up Bashford out in the open under fire and I believe that Bashford's life would have been saved had he not afterwards been dropped twice by the Dhoolie bearers. He was a very powerful and fine young fellow, and his weight was very heavy. On both occasions when he was dropped, the bleeding was restarted and he required double the number (regulation) of Bearers to carry him. Mr. A. Forbes prolonged Bashford's life for some hours and he must have died from loss of blood before a Medical Officer could have arrived on the spot!

The next company to emerge from this defile had four rank and file wounded. A large plain extends towards Dakka and Basawal and the Brigade, having been formed up, started at 2 pm for the former place. Several friendly Shinwari villages were passed, whose inhabitants came out to watch us go by. At these villages water was very plentiful, which was lucky as the men were thirsty after their hard work. One mile further on a large fortified village with four towers appeared. Outside of it crowds of women and children dressed in clothes of various colours stood four deep to see us. I wished that we had had one of the bands to suddenly strike up a loud March! The features of some of the women were in some cases, decidedly handsome, and if they had only been born with a fair skin, several might have received more than a passing stare, but the curious thing we noticed was that there were none of the male sex to be seen except a few very old men. I fancy that all of them had been fighting against us in the Thibai Pass, and a very great number were lying stiff and cold on the hills overlooking the Pass. The Khan of Lalpura who visited the General at Basawal on Christmas day told him positively that the number of Zakha Khels killed at the fight in the Thibai Pass amounted to three hundred and 42 killed and six hundred and five wounded, of whom nineteen wounded men had since died. I heard Mr. Thomas Atkins remark, on passing this village.

"I say, Chal., she's a good looking young woman isn't she?"

"Yes," answers Chal. "She is probably either a Widow now, or else she has lost her lover."

I must say that the more you see of the British Soldier, on Active Service especially, the more you like him! If I tried to analyze the wonderful qualities which they possess when opposed to an enemy, it appears to me that the great distinguishing feature is their unconquerable tenacity; they will hold together and fight on against any Odds. Napoleon is said to have exclaimed at Waterloo: "Why these British do not know when they are beaten." There are many instances when, by all rules, our troops should have been defeated, but by holding on tho' surrounded by the greatest dangers they at last tired out their opponents who fell back, appalled at their own losses in attacking these stubborn enemies. The idea of glory is, I really think, very little considered of amongst the Men; but they are extremely jealous of the good names of their Regiments, and will do anything to maintain them.

As an instance, read the account of the loss of the Birkenhead Steamship, when all the women and children were saved, but the Soldiers with their Officers perished, standing in their rank on deck. (26) The opinion of their countrywomen at Home is also often referred to. At Inkerman the Foot Guards encouraged each other when greatly outnumbered by saying: "What will the Girls at Home say if we are beat by them Roossians!" So they held on, and eventually gained the day. This obstinate courage of the British Infantry has been often remarked by the Continental Military Writers.

With regard to the Cavalry, there has been at different times such various opinions formed of their efficiency that it is more difficult to

judge impartially. The numbers of our Cavalry have unavoidably always been comparatively small, so that they have been obliged to act in combination with Infantry, and seldom by themselves. Many magnificent charges are, however, on record. Not to go back beyond the present Century we may name Talavera [Peninsula War, 27-28 July 1809] Waterloo, Aliwal [1st Sikh War, 28 January 1846], Sabraon [1st Sikh War, 10 February 1846], Balaklava, [and] several actions during the Indian Mutiny, where our cavalry have acted with admirable courage and Energy. In my opinion (which, however, I put forward with great diffidence, not being a Cavalry Officer), the only real Light Cavalry in the British Service are some Regiments of Punjab and Bengal Cavalry in India. Our British Lancers and Hussars are large, powerful men riding, as a rule, in marching order, at least 17 stone, and to carry such a weight for a lengthy Campaign strong horses are required.

It is true that some British Regiments in India are mounted on small Arabs; but however beautiful and active these horses are, it is well known to all Officers who have served in India that the men are too big for them. Also, it is all very well and very nice to congratulate ourselves on the fine charge of the 21st Lancers at Omdurman, but think what the result would have been had they charged, under the same conditions, one hundred well armed and well trained Infantry. If this had happened, the 21st would have been, in my opinion, annihilated. For Light Cavalry, we must have small, wiry, light men and fast, wiry horses. A light Cavalry Trooper should always possess intelligence and independence and be, also, ready to shift for himself and his horse. I sincerely believe that in no Service are there Officers and Men more devoted to their duties, or more anxious to assist in every way, than are, and have always been, our British Cavalry! But they have been and still are, very much handicapped. The Cavalry Officer and Trooper is well aware that a fine, tall, stout man is of no use whatever for a long tedious tour of Active Service; for his horse cannot stand it.

The Engineers [and] Sappers and Miners are the next branch. I sincerely believe that in no Service are there Officers and Men more devoted to their duties, and I feel certain that, both as to scientific attainments and talents, they can well compare with any Continental Corps.

The Artillery is the only great branch of the Service which I have hitherto scarcely mentioned, because their doings during the Afghan Campaign have been particularly described by so many able War Correspondents! Our Artillery are not behind the Continental Nations as regards practical knowledge. The material, horses and equipment of our Field Batteries are excellent, but I think that it will be found, if they should be required to serve on the Continent against a European Army, that the guns should be of heavier calibre!

I wish I could speak with equal praise of the General Staff of the British Army. I, of course, am not alluding to those Officers who have gone through and passed the difficult and scientific course at Sandhurst Staff College, as we have always obtained from there great and talented Commanders and Officers; but I consider that a great number of A.D.C.'s and Orderly Officers to our Generals are (in most cases) proved to be inferior, both in acquirements and intelligence, to what they should be! To form a really good Staff Officer, a long course of education is required, but Family interest has too often been the only recommendation to obtain such appointments! Young men with some private fortune do not like, as a rule, to study dry books. They naturally prefer showy uniforms, balls, hunting, shooting, &c. It is not so much the fault of these young Officers who leave their Regiments to become A.D.C.'s to Generals of Divisions and Brigades, but it is due to the Generals themselves and also to the Parents of the young man. The latter have a certain sort of influence which is not generally known!

Having an A.D.C. with a Title is a great thing to manoeuvre for. In every Campaign of late one reads in the Papers: "General Sir Somebody This,

accompanied by his A.D.C. Lord Tom Noddy, or Lieutenant the Honble H. Dash, did this or that!" Cases of late have been very frequent. For instance, there were very few of the Staff (personal) to the Generals during this last Campaign in the Soudan who could use their pencils, or brush, to assist their General, or who could converse fluently in the language of the country. We can never hope to see our young A.D.C.'s and Orderly Officers to Generals really efficient till they follow the Army as a profession, not a pastime!

The Establishment within the last few years of our Qr. Master General's Staff is a step in the right direction. With our vast powers of Transport by sea, together with intelligent Staff Officers, especially in the Quarter Master General's Department, our small Army at home may really be as formidable as the gigantic standing Armies of the Continent, which often, from want of money, are deficient in their Hospital, Transport and Commissariat Departments, and who in consequence lose many of their men from want and sickness! (27)

But to return to our long and tedious March to Dakka. As far as a mile beyond the Village where the old men, ancient, and good looking young women turned out to have a look at us pass, the general aspect of the country on both sides of the road was one of great beauty. The fields were smiling with cultivation, and several enormous oaks and fine oleanders were growing about; but further on it became wild, and forbidding. The road was rough, and large plains were on both sides, covered with high grass. (28) It soon became dark so the Main body, as they went along, set fire to the grass to enable the Rear Guard to know the route! A very steep and difficult pass had to be climbed, in doing which one of the wounded was twice dropped by the "worn out" and tired Dhoolie Bearers. The rear Guard lost the road for a time, and did not reach Dakka till after twelve o'clock midnight, having been without food, fighting continuously and climbing hills, between 8 am and 2 pm, with a long and fatiguing march to Dakka afterwards, the whole being through a totally unknown and difficult country.

I think that our system of teaching the British Soldier how to shoot is faulty, and causes a great loss of ammunition. He should be taught, in my opinion, to aim at a man's feet, and not at the centre of his body, as a man under fire gets as a rule excited, especially when the enemy are in their turn attacking him, and he sees his pals on each side of him wounded, or killed. A great number of our bullets went over the heads of the Enemy aimed at - and this was simply due to excitement.

On Christmas Eve [1878], the 2nd Brigade, having left troops at Dakka, marched to Basawal, distant 10 miles on the road to Jellalabad. The road was in bad order, and the Khoord Khyber Pass, which is a very narrow and rocky defile close to Dakka, had to be "discussed!" I use the word "discussed," as the supposed excellent ammunition boots issued to Mr. Atkins by a benign Department turned out to be perfectly useless, after the hard marching of the previous expeditions! Here several camels came to grief, throwing their loads, much to the worry of Thomas Atkins. Between this Pass and Basawal, the road runs along a valley which is well cultivated, and passes through the Basawal village, the elevation of which is only 110 feet higher than Dakka.

Christmas Day passed quietly - a few extra tots of rum were issued - and several snipe were shot in a jheel close to the Caubul River. They had the usual peculiar muddy flavour. A few Teal were also shot! These were first-rate eating. After dinner, we sat outside the enormous Camp fire and Songs and Stories were the order of the Night. The harmony of the evening was now and then broken by some over zealous Afghans who amused themselves by firing at the Camp. They had found out that our Sentries were armed with the usual bullet cut carefully into 5 slugs; (29) so they took care not to approach too close to the Camp which faced towards Jellalabad, with a deep

mullah in front and rear. On the right was the road and Caubul River; on the left a stony plain with the village of Pesh Bolak, distant about six miles; and in front, a few yards beyond the mullah, was an old dilapidated Mud Fort. Some of the songs were very good; the Band and Drums and Fifes played old English airs and we thought of our home in Old England. Several Toasts were drunk in rum, and an Afghan Story was called for from an Officer who had a hobby for translating curious Persian and Hindoostanie Works. (30) As this Story is not known even by name in Europe, and as it may serve to amuse the curious I will endeavour to relate the

Legend of the Poisoned Kurbooj, or Melon -- a Fragment

The narrative opens at the beginning of the year 1749, when certain news had just been received in the great City of Rozabad, that Ahmed Shah, a powerful chief of the Doorani tribe of Afghans, had seized on Caboul, Ghuznee, and Candahar, and established a new Kingdom, and that he had commenced his march on Rozabad, accompanied by an invincible Army of Afghans and Persians, with the avowed intention of reducing that distinguished Kingdom!

Dismay and consternation were depicted on every countenance. The undisciplined rabble, ever prone when an enemy is far off to vaunt, no longer claimed the post of danger, but wearied Heaven with prayers for peace! The licentious and luxurious nobles, who but a short time before had factiously opposed every measure devised for the safety of the State, at once fell into the opposite extreme of patriotism, and, forgetting it was their own treachery that had ruined the finances and weakened the Army, commenced crying out that the banished Vizier Masood Khan had not raised sufficient troops and [had] neglected the garrisons. Everywhere was confusion and discord, from the Durbar where sat the great Council of the Nation, nominally guided by the young Amir whose name was Sikunder, but in reality by the four powerful Chiefs, Shirzee Khan, Abdool Raoof, Seedee Talim, and Seedee Jumsheed, to the lowest Caravansary that sheltered the head of the wayfaring merchant.

The baths, bazaars, and public squares were crowded with trembling merchants and citizens, each recounting his tale of terror of the ferocity of Ahmed Shah and his horde, or of their irresistible power and numbers, whilst the inhabitants of the Suburbs added to the confusion by hastening to remove such of their valuables as they could transport within the friendly precincts of the fortress.

Vain hope, and yet more vain precaution. Rozabad was destined to fall and the spoiler to spoil her. After a few days, this state of excitement considerably subsided, the inhabitants sinking into sullen despair when they found their ruin was positively determined on by the Shah.

But the spirit of the Nation was not yet quite broken. Though degenerated from their Ancestors they still fostered some sparks of valour, and, trusting in the immense strength of the walls, the sanguine even still hoped that the last hour of dominion had not yet come. The aged, however, prophesied evil, and their words proved true!

The advance of the Army, encumbered by its artillery, its hundreds of unwieldy elephants, and more than all, its vast camp Equipage and its myriads of followers, was but slow, and the time so gained was wisely improved by the besieged. The gigantic pieces of ordnance which were mounted on the towers were supplied with everything requisite; stores of provisions, arms, ammunition, and rockets laid in. But with all their exertion, they could only muster a weak garrison, and the continual drain of treasure required for former wars prevented their paying even these few troops regularly. The numbers of the citizens were immense, but without arms and discipline their very numbers but added to their weakness!

On the 5th March the first Afghan Guard showed itself beyond the ruined town of Beebee; they were two thousand strong, led on by a nobleman of rank! Their horses gaily curvetted as these bold cavaliers spurred them on, forming a line of some extent. The dress of these Soldiers was striking, and at the same time highly military. It consisted of bright corslets of chain armour covering their bodies and arms, whilst across their backs hung the crooked horn bow of the North of Hindoostan, and a quiver full of poisoned arrows was suspended from their belts on the left side in rear of their scimitars. A spear completed their equipment, whilst a showy turban served at once as a covering from the sun, and a protection to the head in the day of battle. The Standard of the tribe, formed from the head of the Tiger, was borne by a Chosen Jewan, and the general colour of their uniform was a bluish green (something like the Costume of Whiteley's Commissionaire who stands outside the Establishment in the Westbourne Grove). (31) A dense mass of Hill Infantry, the Swiss of India (who are, like them, famed for fidelity and valour) followed next in loose order. They were preceded by the green flag of the Prophet and some score of small Kettle drums; dark green, or black, turbans shaded their brows. Each warrior was attired in white Caftans, reaching to the Knee, [and] bound round the middle with a broad sash, often of silk of various colours, but mostly red and yellow. A grave and severe air marked their countenances, which was increased in most of them by a flowing grey beard and dark flashing eyes, which showed them to be of the

true lineage of Ismael whose hand was against every man. A long, double-handed sword and a clumsy matchlock were their arms of offence, whilst a small round shield was slung across their backs, and over it hung the leather bag of water so indispensable for marches in their Native deserts.

Twenty war elephants with plated Howdahs followed; these again preceded four score Tumbrook camels, each with a small piece of ordnance mounted as a swivel on its back, adorned with small streamers. These animals, the ships of the desert, were guided by Turkish gunners, each mounted on a saddle in rear of the swivel gun. The line was closed by a wild troop of Indian Cavalry (irregular) and Infantry, arrayed in every diversity of gaudy colour, and mostly armed with a long spear, sword, or matchlock! The whole Advance Guard [was] commanded by the Traitor Mullick Berkhoordar, a relation of the Vizier Jumsheed with whom, it is said, he plotted the overthrow of the young Amir Sikunder, and they must have mustered at least ten thousand men! Onwards they swept, confiding in their numbers and courage, the strength, and activity of their horses, and perhaps trusting to the treachery of secret friends within the walls for an easy victory. Many of them, further, despised an Enemy over whom for the last 20 years they had so often triumphed! The inactivity of their foes, therefore, caused them no suspicion, and with true Asiatic carelessness they did not even pursue the straggling Vedettes who appeared on the Heights; neither did they examine the masses of ruins which flanked them. The head of the Column, after an hour's ride, had in this way reached the Ibrahim Roza, a Royal Tomb situated not more than 600 yards from the City walls, when a halt was ordered, and the leaders, availing themselves of an open space, drew up their jaded Cavalry in some sort of order. The Infantry was next posted within the walls of the Roza which was deemed a good point from whence to reconnoitre the City.

All was still in Rozabad and the Afghans began almost to think they had arrived at the City of the Dead mentioned in Arabian history. A single dark figure was discerned in bold relief against the clear sky, standing on the summit of that remarkable tower, the Ourpree Boorj. So immovable was it [the figure], that it could not have been distinguished from a statue if it had not been for a slight waving of the sombre drapery which shrouded it. Suddenly the figure threw its arms up in the air, and in an instant the vast yellow Standard of the Kingdom was proudly waving on the flagstaff by its side. The figure was the old Seedee Zalim. This was the

signal for a shout so loud that even the boldest veterans started with fear; it seemed as if the Genie of the City had, all of a sudden, wakened from the sleep of Death, and bid defiance to the invader! It chilled the very blood of Ahmed Shah and his powerful Chiefs! The vast bastions and walls composed of blocks of stone of gigantic size, which but a moment before were cold and dark and lonely, now teemed with life. A thousand fierce warriors thundered forth yells of rage, and many a Chief's pennon raised above in the blue vault of Heaven showed that Rozabad was not yet deserted by all her Sons. The besiegers had scarcely time to remark what we have been portraying, when the smoke from repeated discharges of the fort artillery veiled the whole from their sight. The tremendous noise made by these destructive engines, the crashing sound of the shot mowing down whole ranks of soldiers, seemed to portend what was yet to come. The great Mecca [west] gate slowly swung open on its iron hinges, and out poured an overwhelming column of Rozabad Infantry, led on by the unyielding Abdool Raoof; conspicuous above the turbaned throng by his gigantic size and splendid armour, [he] steadily approached the Ibrahim Roza. These were flanked by squadrons of heavily armed Petan [Pathan] horse under Shirzee Khan; whilst the deafening War cry of Alla, Akber [Allah o Akbar], and the beating of the great Kettle drums, showed that the Petans came intent on close conflict!

It was then that a fierce contest commenced between the brave Abdool Raoof on one side, and the no less formidable Mullick Berkhoordar on the other [both] urging their respective troops to deeds of daring. Suddenly the young Amir Sikunder changed the fortunes of the day by charging the enemies flank, at the head of 2,000 picked horse, the flower of the Petan Cavalry which he had concealed behind a rising ground.

This last assault was irresistible. The Elephants, Cavalry, and Infantry, too closely crowded together, became one mass of confusion. They attempted for a minute to rally; but the Keen swords of the foe were hewing them down on all sides, and but few escaped to the main body of Ahmed Shah's Army. [Ahmed Shah], hearing the noise of the firing, advanced hastily to their support, whilst the greatest part, after seeing upwards of 2,000 of their comrades lying corpses, surrendered themselves prisoners, and were marched amidst the taunts and insults of the populace to the public prisons.

One small band, at whose head was the brave Mullick Berkhoordar, after prodigies of valour, seeing the day was lost, retired slowly and in good order across the plain. Their gallant

bearing, and the circumstance of the Tiger Standard being still in their possession, fired the young Amir Sikunder, who pursued them with a few Petans! and overtook them close to the unfinished tomb of Mustaffa Khan, which is eight hundred yards from the Tank Beebee!

The combat was short; it was one of extermination. Ahmed Shah's cavalry (with the exception of their leader, the Mullick Berkhoordar) to a man bit the dust; but the disappearance of the Amir Sikunder, and the escape of the other [Ahmed Shah], more than counterbalanced this advantage.

The young Amir had been seen, like a lion rushing on his enemy; but so great was the confusion that none could say in what direction he went, and the shades of night closing in, they put off further search till the next morning.

We must now return to the field of Battle, and again introduce Mullick Berkhoordar. Night had closed in, the heaps of dead looked stiff and stark in the cold moonlight, whilst the dismal howl of the jackal alone disturbed the quiet of the surrounding scene. The Mullick crept from behind the shade of a ruin and, after anxiously gazing around for some time, knelt beside a wounded Petan Cavalier!

"Oh, Sikunder," whispered he, "bestow on me thy beautiful Sister Rumba! My revenge demands it, and it was for this purpose that I spared thee in the heat of battle, yes, that thou mightst know that it is the Mullick Berkhoordar, the despised Traitor, and a Relation of the Vizier Jumsheed, who now commands thee!"

The wounded young Amir, slowly opening his eyes, cast a look of contempt on him, and faintly answered, "Never, my Sister's heart will ever be closed to a Yezidee, (32) one who sooner or later will be hurled into the abodes of everlasting misery, for such is the reward of traitors!"

The Mullick's eyes shot forth a malignant fire, and his whole frame trembled with rage on hearing these words. "Thou hast called me a cruel name," said he at length, "but I shall trample on the proud young Amir of Rozabad. Yes, I have abandoned friends, religion, and honour to enable me to wipe off the stain cast on me [by] thy Father who refused me his daughter, calling me traitor in the Great Durbar, and O fool, thou shalt see what the traitor and unbeliever can do. Thou shalt yet see the beauteous Rumba my unwilling bride!"

The lips of Sikunder curled for a moment with ineffable disdain. He put his hand to his dagger, but his passions were too strong for his exhausted frame, and he sunk back insensible on the ground. Mullick Berkhoordar anxiously waited to see if death had not deprived him of his

victim, but being reassured on this point, he took the wounded youth in his arms, and stole slowly away!

It was midnight. The Lady Rumba had only time to put on her best pair of silk Pyjamas (trousers) and her Cashmere Saree, when following the guide who had brought her the note bearing the well known seal of her Brother, she entered the appointed street, and a low portal was before her. She was also carefully veiled! A Persian slave came to receive her; he was the only person visible in this mysterious dwelling. He conducted her through a dark court to a room built like a pavilion buried in darkness and silence. After having placed his lantern in the vestibule, he opened a door of a long and obscure apartment and showed her with a respectful Salaam a ray of light that broke across the distance, and disappeared [it? he?] as if by enchantment!

"Sikunder takes it coolly after his fight!" thought the Lady Rumba, "but there is no use standing here, I wonder why he has sent for me?" She accordingly passed along the passage and entered the room.

Nothing could be more delicious than this apartment! The walls were of stucco as white as snow, the frames of the looking glasses of dead silver; flowers of extraordinary beauty were scattered on the divans of white velvet, and Moorish windows opened to the ground on a small tho' elegant garden! The room was lighted from above; but the ground glass of the skylight, being partly concealed by a delicately worked network of the purest white marble, softened down by its shadow the rays till they resembled the tender light of the moon. A white alabaster fountain decorated the middle of the floor, whilst nought but the sound of its diamond drops flashing in the cold basin interrupted the superstitious silence.

Whilst Lady Rumba was observing the pale outline of the fountain reflected in the mirrors, she heard a low sigh, and on looking round saw Berkhoordar beside her. He kneeled to her, and taking her hand, looked up in her face; his wild black hair fell over his burning temples. Though she felt that all that was brilliant and tender shone in his eyes, still she was forced to confess that he was decidedly not handsome, and [she] spurned him.

It was in vain that he told her he would give all the remainder of his life in exchange for the bliss of passing one hour at her feet, but that he would sacrifice this hour as well as his life to the fear of offending her. But still she treated him with cold contempt, and repelled his advances with, "No, Berkhoordar, I can never be thine. Here we separate for ever!"

"Oh, my beloved, if you slight my love, at least dread my vengeance!"

Rumba laughed; he prostrated himself at her feet. He implored not, he reproached not; but the emotion of his voice with which he whispered her name was frightful! She paused one minute; but tearing herself from him, she slowly pronounced the dreadful words: "You are too ugly Sir!"

Berkhoordar sprang to his feet, seizing the poor girl with a grasp of iron, and thundered out: "Too ugly, do you call me, when I am decidedly Genteel looking. Well, after that, Rozabad must be taken, but before I leave you, you will be glad to know that your brother Sikunder is a prisoner in the hands of the ugly Gentleman. It is ungenerous of you thus to scorn a man by reason of his ugliness or his religion; nor is it always safe to do so, as you will see by the fate of your Brother who shall now perish miserably before your eyes! He shall not leave this world until he has seen with his own eyes that you are my Prisoner here, and shall be my Wife on the day that the army of Ahmed Shah enters Rozabad."

On this he clapped his hands; two slaves pulled aside the Purdah, and she saw her brother, the young Amir Sekunder, having a poisoned Kurbooj, or Melon, thrust down his throat.

In a second she was at his side, and having seized a portion of the poisoned Kurbooj, she swallowed it before anyone could prevent her, and in a minute She and her Brother lay lifeless with a smile of triumph on their faces!

The rest of this Legend has been unfortunately lost, nor can I throw any light on the subject, further than by adding that the City of Rozabad was taken after a siege of ten months, and that the Mullick Berkhoordar was murdered some time afterwards in Caubul, a poisoned Melon having been given to him by order of Ahmed Shah!

" " " " "

" " " "

Thus ended Christmas Day
in
Afghanistan.

On the following day, a party of 1 Officer, 2 Sergeants, and 22 Soldiers of the 17th Regiment, marched from Basawal to Jellalabad, to return with Rupees for the Troops. They halted at Barikao, distant 10 miles, which is a small village between Barikab and the Caubul river. (33) I give beneath the following sketch taken from Basawal early that morning previous to leaving Camp. The sketch is taken in a south easterly direction, towards the low hills in rear of the camp which skirted the northern flank of the Safed Koh Range. The ground is very stony and covered with deep nullahs in which there are to be found a number of ravine deer which are similar to those shot in India. The ground is also, in places, covered with thick long grass, and a number of thick, large, bushy trees, making it extremely difficult to see further than a few yards on either side. All these trees are made use of for



View of Pass towards "Nikoti." Shinwari hills from Basawal. "+" shows where Aladdu lost his head and right hand.

sleeping and hiding purposes! Each tree could accommodate six or ten men under it, where they could lie down and be completely concealed from view. On the sketch I have marked with a "+" the place where a Servant of mine, a **Bheestie** named "Aladdu" who had accompanied our shooting party of two Officers and nine Soldiers, was killed. He had been carrying a fine Buck which I had shot, and, as the party were about to turn up the ravine, he asked leave to rest with the dead Buck until our return. This he did, and we proceeded up the ravine and a narrow pass through the high grass. Suddenly, we were attacked by about 150 hill men who appeared in front. The party collected as we had arranged, should we by any chance be attacked, and we began to retrace our steps, when we heard shots from the entrance of the narrow pass where we had left the **Bheestie**, Aladdu. All ran towards the pass to assist the **Bheestie**, calling out for him by name. Search was made on both sides, but not a trace of him was found! Some went to the top of the low hills in the hope of seeing him, but without success, and as these hill men were getting bolder with the darkness, and were also firing on us, the Party returned in safety to Basawal, minus the **Bheestie**, Aladdu, and the dead buck, being followed up for a considerable distance.

The circumstance was immediately reported on their arrival that evening, and on the following morning a party of two Officers and a dozen Sowars of the Bengal Cavalry were sent to search for him. On arrival at the entrance of the Pass, they were extended; but even then, the unfortunate man's body was passed. A large pool of blood was found where the body had been mutilated; it had afterwards been dragged back to some high grass by the side of the path, just inside the pass where he had been shot. The poor fellow had been shot through the stomach, chest, and lungs, and must have died almost instantaneously. His murderers must have hid themselves under the bushy trees which had been, by the footmarks, only very recently occupied. They were probably afraid to fire again as, owing to the high grass, they

were unable to find out the numbers of the shooting party, and consequently might have been caught in a trap. But that evening, when we had returned to Basawal, they dragged out the dead man, cut off his head, and right hand, and some of them had amused themselves by slicing the poor fellow's back with their sharp Knives, as a Waiter would do in carving a saddle of mutton! Five other fearful wounds had also been inflicted, after which they had dragged the trunk of the body back to the original place in the high grass where they had shot him, and then decamped with the head, right hand, sword, and deer! The two former were, according to custom, carried as a trophy to all their important villages in the hills!

They had forgotten to examine the body for loot! for inside his Kummerbund, which is worn round the waist, was found thirty-six rupees in silver, and a large bunch of Keys. The grass inside the pass was set on fire, and the body was carried into Basawal, and buried by the **Bheesties** in Camp.

The poor fellow was a first-rate servant, and had been doing the work of Bearer, **Khitmudgar**, and **Bheestie** during the Campaign. He had always carried a small **Mussuck** of drinking water when the Regiment was on a March, and on this morning I had given him a sword. This he had sharpened up, and previous to leaving Camp, he had displayed great skill and dexterity by quickly drawing the sword from the scabbard and attacking a large tent peg (which he was told was an Afridi) with innumerable wonderful cuts and thrusts at this imaginary enemy, to the great delight of a number of Soldiers who were looking on.

The following day another brutal murder took place, on a **Gomashta** (or buyer of provisions for the Commissariat Department) belonging to the Brigade. He had been enticed into a village by some Afridis, who killed him. A little Goorkha who was fond of sport was unfortunately surprised while fishing in the Caubul River and was brutally mutilated. Two soldiers on a camel grazing guard who belonged to the 17th Regiment were killed after a good fight, so the General issued a strict order that all natives who were found near Basawal, or Dakka, with Rifles, **juzzails**, or swords, should be at once disarmed! (34)

The postal authorities caused a great deal of annoyance. It was far safer to send a letter by ordinary post than to register it; for if the latter was done, its contents would certainly be ransacked by some thief belonging to the post. From this cause, a great number of useful articles sent by Parcel post never reached the rightful owner. (35)

The Shinwaris also became exceedingly troublesome, cutting the Telegraph wire between Basawal and the Khyber, and making raids on our Camels, when [these were] grazing about 7 miles distant. The guard, which consisted of one Sergeant and Twenty men of the 17th Regiment, were on the "qui vive" when about sixty hill men suddenly fired on them and made a rush at the camels. The Guard killed eleven of the enemy and took one Prisoner, with a loss of two Soldiers killed. The Sergeant caused the camels to be driven back, whilst he drove the Hill men off, and the captured prisoner, a stalwart looking fellow, was disarmed.

The general order was to shoot down all marauders caught in the act, and to take no prisoners. In this case, the Sergeant in command thought that it would be a good plan to send the prisoner into Dakka, to enable the authorities to find out the tribe that had made this attack. The prisoner's **juzzail** was discharged and given to him to carry, and he was placed in [the] charge of a Soldier, who was ordered to escort him to Dakka Fort, while the rest of the rear Guard followed up the Enemy previous to bringing in the bodies of their dead comrades!

When the Afridi found that he was left in the charge of only one Soldier, he positively refused to move. It was getting dusk, and the Native being only armed with his unloaded **juzzail**, the Soldier tried moral

persuasion in the English dialect, and said: "If you don't move on sharp before I count three, I'll shoot you dead! One - two - three," and the man fell dead.

On hearing the report caused by this shot, a few men of the Guard doubled towards the scene, when they found that their comrade had thus summarily got rid of his charge. On being at once questioned as to whether he was quite certain that the Afridi was dead, he replied: "I am sure of it, as I bayoneted him afterwards, in case he was 'foxing'!" (36) Early next morning the body was brought into Dakka, and the dead man was identified as belonging to the large fortified Village situated at the entrance of the Dakka side to the Thibai Pass!

A Pye dog hunt at Basawal was started. Hamilton of the Guides Cavalry (who was afterwards massacred in Caubul) and Allfrey, 17th (who died not long afterwards at Safed Sang) were the chief promoters of this hunt. (37) There was a certain place near Basawal which was a sure find, and this place was the Camel burying ground. Thousands of Camels had died in Basawal from the cold, hard work, and overloading; also from insufficient and bad food, pneumonia, and dysentery.

Only the Afghan Camels were able to endure the cold of Afghanistan, on account of their covering of thick hair; these were only used by the Quarter Master General's Department for the quick conveyance of certain stores. The Camels used by the Troops came, as a rule, from the Punjab, or Oudh, and these had no hair to protect them from the cold. Moreover, their harness, or gear, did not fit these unfortunate animals. They were, in consequence, slow in their movements, obstinate, and vicious. A bite from a Camel is not at all a pleasant wound to get and takes a long time to heal. The Afghan camel is quite different, for he will go for miles at a time at a fast job trot, and never seems tired, or put out.

The smell at the camel burying ground is anything but pleasant. The first thing that catches the eye is the number of half-buried carcasses about, on which some forty pariah dogs are feeding [with] some hundreds of large hawks waiting their turn.

On one occasion nine Officers met to hunt the pye, or pariah dog, and all were well mounted. Each man carried in his hand a bamboo stick about 9 feet in length, and around his waist was slung a large bag full of round stones of a convenient size for throwing. Four hounds and six dogs constituted the pack.

The meet was at the lines of the Guides Cavalry detachment and took place at 3 pm. The day was certainly propitious for pye hunting - cloudy, with temperature not too high. We had hardly entered the camel burial ground, when a fine Afghan pye was viewed, tearing the flesh off an unearthed camel; and in less time than it takes to describe it, he had the dogs and hounds within sixty yards of him. He was a remarkably fine specimen of the mangy camel eater, and seemed to be perfectly acquainted with every yard of the country, for disdaining the protection of the village of Basawal, he made instead for Pesh Bolak, distant six miles, closely followed by dogs and horsemen. The country was rather sandy and covered with mimosa bushes, nullahs, high coarse grass, and a thickish scrub. He gave us a fast run of over four miles and eventually got away. The hunt soon became very clever at chasing the wily pye, because two or three horsemen would ride on either flank, and on his turning to the right or left, [he] would receive a volley of stones, or a thrust with the bamboo pole. Several falls took place, one officer being severely bruised in a nullah, and another getting a ducking in a brook!

The monotony of Basawal was broken every evening by one of the Bands playing; also by the Drums and fifes. Two footballs were kicked about by the Soldiers, and several procupines were caught in the nullahs, and a panther was once seen and fired at, but missed!

A party of Soldiers this day were digging a deep hole in a nullah when [where] they wanted to bury two mules and a dead camel, when they came across the remains of numerous plants, and, on digging down deeper, to a depth of five feet from the surface, they found not only sandstone, but limestone and coal. I carefully noted the place in order that I should obtain a share in the profits of any Company wishing to work what is undoubtedly a valuable bed of shale and coal, both of which are in every way equal to the English, or to that produced in Wales. Further on, a few men, while digging, came across an enormous quantity of fossils which proves that shale and coal must be underneath. Some of these fossils were very pretty and were made of all species of vegetable matter which in colour resembled most delicate ferns, plants, and trees, in black and dark green. I have never seen such exquisite designs that some of them had!

Chapter Three

On the 17th January [1879] a strong reconnoitering party of Cavalry visited the place where the **Bheestie**, Aladdu, was murdered, and ten square miles of country was surveyed, in which several fortified villages were discovered which previously had not been known to exist. The Political Officer thus was able to trace the murderers to a place called Nikoti-Miani, distant about twelve miles from Basawal, and situated in the low hills about four miles to the right of the pass in which he was murdered.

That night, a force consisting of Guides Cavalry, 17th Regiment, Rifle Brigade, and Goorkhas, marched to surprise the place, leaving Basawal at midnight. It was very dark, no lights were allowed to be lit, and smoking was forbidden. The object was to take as many prisoners as possible, and an Order was given to shoot any man who tried to run away, seize all their cattle, and burn the village.

It was very difficult for the men marching in rear to keep up with the Column, for numerous **mullahs** had to be crossed, the cold was intense, and very few halts took place. The Force arrived close to Nikoti-Miani at 4.30 am. A large hillock was on the right flank, and here the Hospital **dhoolies** and **Puckall** mules were left with a Guard of 30 men, with orders to hold the place and to stop all hill men passing that way. (1)

The remainder moved on, turning to the right into a valley. The path then curved round to the left towards the next range of hills. They then halted on a ridge. Beneath it was a broad, deep **mullah**, on both banks of which were large caves which constituted the village. (2) It was still dark, so the Guides Cavalry and some of the Rifle Brigade were sent down the **mullah** to cut off the villagers' retreat to the hills. A few of the 17th were sent round to the right, and Goorkhas to the left.

By this time it was just daylight! Looking down from the ridge, a few hill men could be seen squatting on the ground outside their caves, calmly smoking their **hookahs**, and others were performing their ablutions. They were all sublimely unconscious [of the fact] that they were surrounded, when suddenly a shot was fired, our troops advanced, and Nikoti-Miani was completely surprised!

The scene below was very amusing, the whole place showed nothing but confusion. Several men rushed out of their caves, armed with rifles, **Juzzails**, and long knives, and tried to make a bolt of it. Of these, four men were killed and several others were severely wounded! One woman was accidentally wounded with a bullet wound through her thigh. She was about sixteen years of age, not bad looking, but very dirty. A Soldier, who assisted the Doctor in bandaging up the wound to prevent further loss of blood, declared that "she swore horribly!" Several women had very narrow "shaves" of being shot, as their clothes [were] in most cases very much the same as what the men wore, [and this] rendered it very difficult to guess whether the running creature in blue, or white, was a man or a woman. Seventy-five prisoners were taken; also, six hundred and ten sheep and goats, two hundred and thirty bullocks, forty-four mules, and nine donkeys. Twenty-eight rifles, twenty-five **juzzails**, and several swords and knives [were also taken]!



Some Prisoners taken at Nikoti.

About sixty women and children were placed together in some of the caves, and the remainder of the caves, which contained a large amount of *bhoosa*, were set on fire.

On the return march to Basawal, great difficulty was experienced in driving off the captured sheep and cattle, for these animals always made a point of going the wrong way, especially the donkeys. These latter afforded much amusement to Tommy Atkins who were allowed to save their boots by taking it by turn to ride. The troops arrived in Camp at 3 pm, driving their prisoners and loot before them.

Next day [19 January 1879], some of the sheep were divided between the Officers Messes and [those of] the Troops, and the remainder were handed over to the Commissariat. So were the Cattle, &c., and a few of these, being proved to have been stolen from a friendly Gipsy tribe who lived under tents a few miles from Dakka, were at once restored. (3)

The prisoners were detained for two days, when all except three men (who were discovered to be the actual murderers) were allowed to return to their burnt out caves!

The three ruffians were sent as prisoners to Peshawar, and eventually were forgiven; so they luckily got off the hanging which they so richly deserved. This must have been a rude awakening to the inhabitants of Nikoti-Miani, as they must have considered themselves quite safe from surprises, or else they would not have refused to give up the murderers after having been clearly warned that, if they did not do so, they would be attacked and punished. (4)

On the Twenty-fifth of January [1879] a large force marched again from Basawal into the Bazar Valley, to co-operate with a force from Ali Musjid. General [J.A.] Tytler took with him [from Basawal]:

2 mountain guns 11/9 Royal Artillery.
 Guides Cavalry.
 450 men H.M. 17th Regiment.
 200 " Rifle Brigade.
 200 " 4th Goorkhas.
 150 " 27th P.N.I.
 250 " 45th Sikhs.
 50 " Sappers and Miners.

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During the march, the Rifle Brigade and Goorkhas were detached (with some Sappers) to destroy a fortified village. Very few tents were brought on account of the scarcity of carriage, three Officers having to double up in an eighty pound tent, and one Sepoy pal was told off for [each] twenty men. (5) This was found to be ample, as every night there were a great number of Officers & Men required for Picquet duty. We halted after doing sixteen miles. Next morning, Troops were sent to demolish another fortified village, situated about three miles from the ruins of Chinara to the South East, and in the low hills. The country through which we passed was only partly cultivated, and the path lay along the almost perpendicular face of a steep hill. After scrambling up this zig-zag path for two miles, along which signs of iron and copper were very plentiful, we had to scramble down it. A small stream was then crossed and a steep hillock negotiated, underneath which, on the other side, was the doomed village and tower, with a small cultivated valley in front, surrounded by high hills. Throughout this march splendid pieces of iron and copper were collected, and the whole country must be wonderfully rich with those minerals!

The village was, as usual, found to be quite deserted, and only a few fowls were left behind. The tower was blown up by the Sappers, the Goorkhas caught the fowls, [and] the village was soon in flames, when some hill men appeared, fired a few shots without doing damage, and then bolted. The troops [then] marched on to the Sissobi villages. Not a soul was to be seen; every place was deserted and the crops had been gathered. That evening, a spy gave us information that the hill tribes had blocked up the Sissobi Pass in the hope of delaying us from joining the Force from Ali Musjid.

The chief difficulties of this march were the bad roads, the paucity and inferiority of Transport animals, and, worst of all, ignorance of the enemy's movements, together with the disadvantage that our own designs would probably be ascertained by them from the first. Moreover, our communications with Basawal and Dakka had been cut off, and as yet a meeting with the Force from Ali Musjid had not taken place! It had been arranged that our food should be drawn from these Troops, and we soon found that a very large force in an extremely difficult country is a doubtful blessing, and from the commissariat point of view it is the reverse. (6)

The object of this 2nd Bazar Valley expedition was given out to be threefold:

1. To survey the country.
2. To punish certain villages.
3. To convince the tribes in the Bazar Valley that we could enter their territory in force whenever we wished to do so.

Early the following morning, the whole of the Pioneers and Sappers & Miners were sent to clear the Pass. Three villages were burnt, after which the Troops commenced their slow and arduous climb. A few shots were fired at the Rear Guard, who returned it killing nine and sending the rest up the steep hill as fast as they could [escape].

The Rifle Brigade (who were guarding the Pioneers and Sappers & Miners) found the Pass, at the summit, to be thoroughly blocked, and they had hard work to clear it before the arrival of the General with the Main Body. Camels are bad climbers; the path was steep and the soil was covered with large sharp stones. Several of them were overloaded on account of three having died on the 1st march out from Basawal. The consequence was, that four more, owing to weakness, were shot by the Rear Guard before the Summit of the Pass was gained. Lieut.-General [Sir F.F.] Maude's Camp was reached that evening. His force consisted of:

6 guns R.A.
150 Punjab Cavalry.
800 British Infantry.
1200 Native Infantry, and 200 Sappers & Miners.

Part [of the force] had marched from Jumrood, and [another part from] Ali Musjid, leaving the former place on the morning of the 24th January 1879, [and the latter on 25 January].

The route taken was the Khyber Road, for a mile. They then struck off to the left, into the bed of the Khyber stream, which was continually being crossed and re-crossed throughout the march. The troops encamped at Shuldunna at 4 pm. Next morning, they took a westerly direction up the bed of a small tributary of the Khyber river. The road, at first, was narrow and rocky, and in some places the Sappers and Miners had to be called into requisition. The flanking parties reported that iron was noticed in large quantities. (About six miles further on at) the summit of the Pass, the remainder of the Troops from Ali Musjid joined. (7) From here, the road wound down from [to?] the Chora River, and about four miles further on, Bara-Kus [Kats?] was reached, where the Force was halted. The rear Guard did not arrive till late in the evening, having been delayed by numbers of the Enemy, and the Picquets of the 13th Bengal Lancers and 25th Kings Own Borderers were attacked soon after night fell.

On the 26th [January 1879], a portion of the Force destroyed the village of Burj. Around this village there is, without doubt, a great amount of copper. (8) Some skirmishing took place, and at a place called Wallai [Halwai], a troop of cavalry dismounted and engaged the enemy. The rear Guard, consisting of the 2nd Ghookhas, had three men severely wounded, and an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy from 9 pm to 3 am, one man of the Picquet (25th K.O.B.'s) being killed and two men of the same Regiment dangerously wounded.

Next day the Camp was moved to the centre of the Bazar Valley and the 51st Light Infantry, after encountering some opposition, drove the enemy back, with the loss of 15 killed. Lieut. [B.E.] Spragge, an Officer of the 51st, had a narrow escape of being killed when signalling on the summit of the Chinar hill. A party of Afridis made a sudden rush at him. He shot two of them with his revolver; a Goorkha, who was one of the signalling escort, disposed of a third, and the remainder ran away!

That evening the Basawal Force joined, and their Camp was pitched on the left flank. During the greater part of the night, the Afridis kept up a heavy fire on all sides, to which our Picquets replied. It was a very pretty sight, for the flashes could be seen distinctly, owing to the darkness!

The waste of ammunition must have been enormous! On our side, one British Soldier and 3 Camp followers were wounded, and a mule was killed. Search was made on the following morning for the Enemy's dead; but none being found, it was considered probable that none had been hit, although their cunning at carrying off their dead and wounded was quoted all over the Camp!

We attacked them on the following morning and found them occupying a strong position above Halwai, which commanded the approach into the Bara

Valley. We then drove them back as far as the Bokhar [Bukar] Pass (6 miles S.W.), with the loss of two men killed and an Officer and six men wounded! The enemy acknowledged having lost eighteen killed and forty-one wounded on this occasion! One of our wounded in this skirmish was a Sergeant of the Royal Artillery who had been previously wounded at Ali Musjid.

On the 29th [January 1879] the 25th K.O.B.'s, 6th B.N.I., and 45th Sikhs, were given a treat. They blew up the Towers of Halwai, and then drove the enemy back. [Their] loss was very heavy, [and] on this occasion, our loss was one killed and four wounded. On this day the Cavalry reconnoitred in the direction of the Bara Pass, and were under a heavy fire, four horses being shot in the Pass!

Every night the enemy kept up an unceasing fire, not only at the Camp, but at our Picquets (the positions of the latter being changed always at dusk), and Officers, Picquets, and Sentries had a lively time of it. During the night when it was dark, a sentry would all at once see a small light flickering in the long grass in front of him; this, one of the hill men, who had crept as close as he dared, had placed upon the ground, and then had stolen away, in the hope that the sentry would fire, and thus discover [reveal] his position! (9)

The Bara Pass was again visited; in the centre we found a deep ravine running towards the South, and, to our surprise, fourteen large Caves completely covered [lined] inside with cement. Five of these Caves were domed, and there was a broad passage at the back of each communicating with one another. In this passage, at the centre of the rear of each cave, was a niche; from the passage were two galleries lined with lead which appeared to wind into the interior of the Bara hill. Inside these galleries, which had at one time been ornamented, were several niches. Bones of animals covered the ground, and the caves had not been entered by any human being for centuries. (10) In front of these caves runs a stream of clear water, and on the far side of the ravine are some old tamarisk trees. The stench inside the caves, galleries, and passage was simply worse than fetid! The two centre caves, which were domed, were fourteen feet broad, thirty feet long, by ten feet high, while the three other ones with domes were not quite so long, because of the winding of the communicating passage in rear which was three feet broad and twelve feet high, with a circular ceiling. (11) The two galleries were four feet each in breadth and eight feet in height where they branch from the passage, but they evidently got smaller by degrees. The other nine caves varied in size and height, but none was so large as the five I have described. On the base of a niche in the passage could be seen the green rust of brass or copper, so it is highly probable that at some century each niche contained a monument, or an ornament, of brass or copper! (12) I am told that no Mahomedan would dare to enter, or even glance into, one of these caves, which they consider to be full of spirits and evil supernatural beings. At any rate, our Bengal Cavalry Escort kept guard outside while we entered, and took no interest whatever in our movements. (13)

On our return to the Bazar Valley, thousands of hill men could be seen on the top of the highest range of hills on their way to join the Zakha Khels. There was another expedition towards Ali Musjid, on the 31st January, consisting of Detachments from the 5th Fusiliers, H.M. 17th Regt., 4th Goorkhas, 24th P.N.I., and 45th Sikhs, to meet a large convoy of provisions and ammunition from Ali Musjid, and close to the narrow pass of Wallai [Halwai], the Force was halted close to a clear stream, and H.M. 17th and 24 [th] P.N.I. were moved forward to take and hold two high hills which commanded the Pass, as there was every reason to believe that the Zakha Khels would molest the convoy at this narrow pass, in the chance of loot.

In fact, they were concealed on the summit of both hills, with that object in view, and must naturally have felt very much disappointed when they saw our Troops making for the same places. Accordingly, some of the enemy

advanced down the hill and opened fire. We advanced quickly to meet them, making use of the brushwood and trees for cover from the bullets which were now flying about freely. To avoid a collision, the Zakha Khels retreated, leaving eleven of their dead on the summit, and the hills were taken and held until the Convoy had safely passed through. It was of great length, as the camels were carrying provisions to last four thousand men for five days, and it took fully two hours to get through the Pass in single file. The retirement was then commenced, and the Enemy at once opened fire and advanced from all sides. A Sowar of the 13th Bengal Lancers was here badly wounded and fell, and in a few seconds some thirty Afridis were down the hill, cutting and mutilating him with their long knives!

A dozen sepoy of the 24th P.N.I. recovered the body, which they removed to a place of safety under a heavy fire. The enemy had built **sungars** of stone about three feet in height and large enough to each hold twenty to thirty men concealed behind them. (14) These had been erected by them on every hillock and hill commanding our line of retirement, and they were able to move from one to another, hidden from view by the thick brushwood. The 4th Goorkhas, together with a party of the 17th, did excellent work skirmishing through the brushwood so as to take these **sungars** in rear, and in one **sungar** fifteen Afridis were polished off in fine style!

On the 1st February [1879] a deputation of the Hill Tribes came into Camp to make terms with us. They brought with them thirty-six fine sheep. Hundreds of Soldiers and Sepoys surrounded them, and they had to undergo the process of being stared at, as if they were wild animals. They, however, did not seem to mind it, as they appeared to be thoroughly at home, smoking their **hookahs**, and listening to the plaintive music of the bagpipers of the 25th K.O.B.'s, who entertained them for the greater part of the afternoon. (15) They were not unmindful for trade, for they had brought with them several Caubul Rupees, each of which they were willing to exchange for one [Indian] Rupee, thereby making several annas! They acknowledged to have lost, in killed in the **Sungars**, eighty-three men, and on the hills overlooking the Pass, twenty-three men, during the fight of the previous day, and that many of their men were wounded. They agreed to return all the stolen camels, and on that night our picquets were not fired upon.

The next day, at 3 am, General Tytler's Brigade left the Bazar Valley and arrived at Basawal on the 5th Februry. The Ali Musjid Division also returned without opposition. I give a sketch here to show of what magnificent materials our Artillery are made!

Here again we noticed on the sides of the rugged **nullahs** certain proofs of deposits, in places, of large quantities of iron and copper. Coal is also there, because in the **nullahs** which are in places as much as fifty feet in depth, we noticed on each bank a strata of coal and iron in large quantities! (16) The **Koran** says "Wealth is founded on Commerce, Science on Argument, and a Kingdom on strict discipline!" (17)

We found that the Tribes had been causing uneasiness between Dakka and Jellalabad during our absence, and we were warned to prepare for an attack from the Kuki Khels, Shinwaris, and Mohmunds, on the 14th night of the Moon!

Nobody quite understood what day was meant by the 14th night of the Moon. (18) At any rate, all preparations were made. After a rest of one day, a Force of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry marched [7 February 1879] to Barikab, distant 11 miles, to cross the Caubul River and attack the Mohmund Country, and [also to] co-operate with a Force from Jellalabad [in an] attack [on] five thousand Mohmunds.

We found the River very much swollen, and great difficulty was experienced by the Artillery and Infantry in crossing three of the fords, and in fact, at the third ford, a soldier of the 17th was swept away. He, and another, would have been drowned together had not some comrades managed to seize, and pull them on land, just above a Rapid! (19) The fourth channel



Horse Artillery in the Bazar Valley

was found to be too deep for the Artillery and Infantry to cross, so the idea of fighting the Mohmunds on their own territory was given up.

The Guides Cavalry swam their horses across the 4th Ford to reconnoitre and to endeavour to entice the Mohmunds to the river, but without success. We again had to wade through the rushing, swollen River, and it was very difficult work in the month of February. A man has to keep his balance, and not lose his head. The water was terribly cold, the glare was tremendous, and several men would have lost the ford, or their footing, through giddiness, had they not held on to one another. (20)

We afterwards heard that the Caubul River had been crossed from [at?] Jellalabad with great difficulty, two soldiers having lost their rifles, whilst three Camp followers had been drowned. Ali Boghan and Girdi Kus [Kats] were occupied by us; the latter place is distant 15 miles from Basawal, and close to the River!

On the **Jheels**, clever sights are to be seen, especially the Afghan mode of catching wild duck and geese, which is extremely curious. A sham goose, or Duck, is made with feathers, but [it is] hollow, with small holes for the eyes. The sportsman puts his head into the hollow and looks and breathes through the eye holes. He then enters the **jheel** up to his neck, with the sham bird on his head, and slowly, and with great caution, approaches them. As soon as he gets near enough [he] pulls them very cleverly by their legs under the water! Hundreds of water fowl are caught by this very simple method.

The Afghans always go about armed, even when ploughing the land, sowing, or reaping. An Afghan Chief forms every fifty sheep into a separate flock, and a shepherd is placed in charge of each flock. [His] profits consist of one-sixth of the wool, the milk, and the butter. A similar system is pursued with regard to the goats. (21)

The weather at this time was very cold at night, and in the morning the water in our tubs was always covered with a thick layer of ice. The country was almost dried up for the want of rain, so everyone was pleased when on the 10th of February a dust storm arose, followed by four days [of] heavy rain. This improved the look of the country which, around Basawal, is very fertile. The crops began to appear, and gave every promise of a plentiful harvest. Many historians have said that most birds and animals which prey upon the insect tribes may frequently be observed to select and pursue the most splendid prey that is to be seen, in preference to the ugly. When one rides away from the roads and well known paths in Afghanistan, a man recognizes that this fact is true, whether it is a man, or animal, or bird, or fish, or even, I believe, a reptile. All who have travelled in the hills between Basawal and Jellalabad must have noticed the beautiful Leaf butterfly flying from tree to tree, from bush to bush, rock to rock, or ravine to ravine, or its splendid and dazzling appearance when pursued by its one sworn fiend in this World, which abounds in Afghanistan -- The Fly Catcher. (22) The unfortunate insect tries to get away by flying in a zig-zag route. The Fly Catcher is also cunning. Sometimes the beautiful butterfly escapes, either by cunning, or by chance, in hiding under the leaf of some tree. The bewildered Fly Catcher is often defeated on account of the insect, by instinct, using the power provided for it, suddenly deceiving the bird by closing its beautiful wings, which when closed appear like a dead leaf. The Fly Catcher probably says to himself, "Bother, the Leaf Butterfly!" But the latter, although always chased, is seldom caught.

Many people, if asked, say that Afghanistan is not a beautiful country, or a fertile one, or a pleasant one, or a rich one.

Well, all I can say is, that the climate of Afghanistan is very much more pleasant than that of India or Burmah, (23) and I believe, from what eminent Doctors told me, that there are only two really dangerous diseases to be met with in the country, i.e.,

Cholera I have already described, but I have not as yet asked the Reader to kindly imagine himself as an Officer inspecting his Company previous to marching from one camp to another, which movement of Troops during the Cholera [epidemic] was always done in the early morning.

Well, he would turn up at 3.30 am, and have his tub, dress, and *chota hazri* (which consisted of tea, toast, and two eggs!), (25) after which he would be on parade at 4.15 am, and the Regiment would march off at 4.30 am.

Between 4.15 am and 4.30 am the Officer, accompanied by his Colour Sergeant and Corporal on duty, would walk down the Front and Rear Rank; then he would inspect the arms, and tell off the Men. After doing the above he would fall in. The Adjutant, by order of the Commanding Officer, would then ride down the left flank of the Battalion to inquire if all were present and, on receiving his report, the Officer in Command would give the Order to March.

The band would play, and away went the Regiment, for perhaps ten or twelve miles. But, on the road one suddenly heard awful shrieks and yells. What can this be? and at once we go to look. Well, what do we see? What can be the cause of this terrible noise? You see a man, perhaps over 6 feet in height, or an equally good man of perhaps 5 ft. 6 in. in height, more or less in such a fearful agony; it is in fact awful. This man dies, as a rule, or, I might say did die, 3-1/4 hours after being attacked. The death of other men attacked suddenly with Cholera sometimes even takes place within 2 hours. You see a man, tall, strong, healthy, and well. Then to the surprise of his comrades he is dead within 4 hours.

You next see a man who looks weak and in appearance does not look up to marching, or any extra fatigue. He is probably short and slim, or stout, as the case may be. This man lasts longer than the tall, strong, athletic man, as the stronger one happens to be, so much the stronger [is the] Cholera attack. (26)

It is a curious fact, that Medical Science of the present day, although aided, of course, by the improved suggestions of practical Science, has not as yet found a remedy for Cholera. Our Whole system seems to me to be against a future Cholera attack as similar to an application in fact, of a ship's standing rigging to no purpose. (27)

Our medical Men — in plain English — do not yet comprehend what, 1. Cholera is, 2. How the complaint should be treated, and 3. How it can be exterminated. The clever Doctor who can give a true answer to the above three points should be considered as quite worth his weight in gold.

Anyhow, there can be no doubt whatever that the numerous Tumuli between Pesh Bolak and Sultanpur are worth their weight in gold. It must [as well] not be forgotten that, not only gold is to be obtained from beneath these Tumuli, but precious stones, rings of gold and brass and copper, [and] also Indo-Scythic coins of gold, vases of gold, silver, and bronze, most fine, [and finally] most ancient inscriptions, which are worth their weight in double gold to our British Museum, or [to] any Museum in the World. It seems a curious fact to one who thinks! (28)

The fact is this --

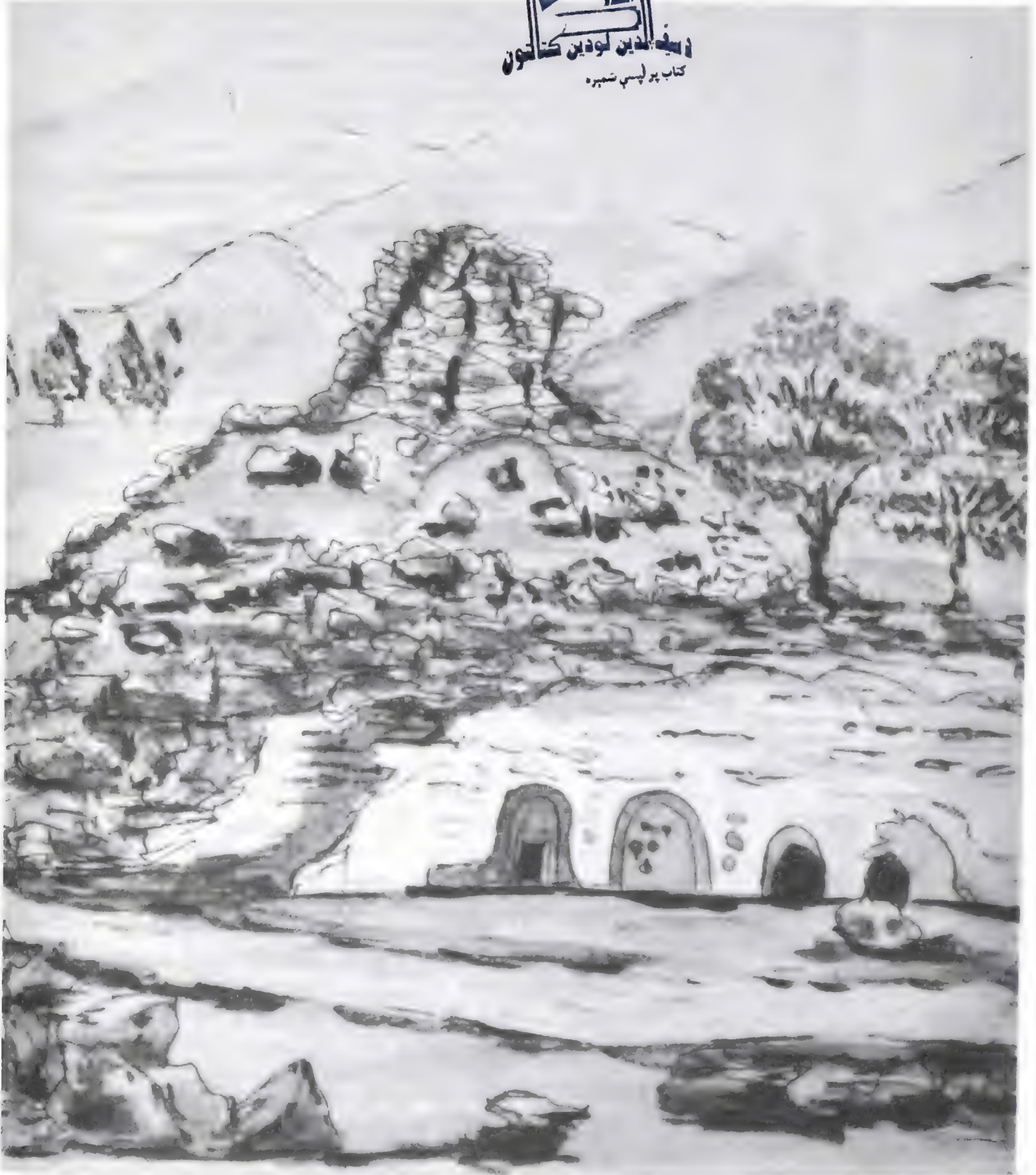
The British people will stump up 100,000 pounds without winking, to start a College for the education of people that the vast majority know, or care, nothing about, simply because it is such a nice, good, and proper idea to render homage to the great General Gordon who had been cruelly left in the lurch! Build this £100,000 Education College, by all means, but I think that from experience we should remember that, in Oriental countries, especially

among the followers of Mahomed, it takes only a few days for any Mahdi, or Moola, to obtain a large following of thousands of fanatics. Then may be asked: "Where is the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum? Where are the British Troops? Why do we allow the French, the Russians, the coming Mahdi, and last, but not least, the Abyssinians, to have a finger in this pie which has cost us too much blood and money?" The answer is: --

We only do, and intend to do, things by halves, and the consequence will be that the whole business must be gone over again. Lessons have to be re-taught. Nothing can safely be done until we proclaim a Protectorate. Even our present Commander-in-Chief amuses himself by telling us a new idea of his, (29) which idea, I am glad to say, has been taught and studied by the British Army, especially in India, for the last twenty odd years, viz: -- We had learnt from the enemy during the last twelve months, on the frontiers of India, "that it was the chief function of a soldier, next to being well disciplined, to shoot well!" (Vide Lord Wolseley's speech at St. James's Hall December 14th, 1898). (30)

Pesh Bolak is considered [to be] a place of great sanctity, and is visited in February by numerous pilgrims. There is a shrine which is called the "Gaddi Surya," and another one called the "Darbarra Sinh." These two places are looked upon as [being] very sacred spots. I was hospitably entertained inside the fortified enclosure by the Chief of Pesh Bolak, and after the usual meal of *Kedgerree*, which was eaten by dipping the fingers in a promiscuous way into the dish, (31) and drinking strong tea without milk, and very much sweetened with sugar, I had the pleasure of seeing the Chief say good morning to the various members of his Family. He conducted us into a large room with only one large decorated chair in it, which was placed at the furthest end. The floor was covered with gaudy Persian Carpets. The Chief at once sat down on the chair and clapped his hands, on which his eldest son, who was a tall young man, dressed in white with a green *puggerie*, entered at the far end of the apartment, advanced to his Father, made a humble *salaam*, and knelt before him. The chief then placed both his hands on the top of his son's *puggerie*, and the latter made another *salaam*, this one being made when [still] on his knees. [He then] rose and left the room. Three other sons entered in turn, performed the same ceremony, and retired. The Chief would not see them again until the following day, unless he required them. We visited the Chief's stables and saw four strong-looking Caubul horses, about fifteen hands in height and vicious in appearance.

He had also a Persian Arab which was a good looking gelding, a little over fifteen hands. He was trotted out, but one could see that he had the usual Persian Arab failing of tripping! He [the Chief] spoke English very well and was very fond of talking. There was the ruin of one Tumulus about three miles from Pesh Bolak, close to the villages of Deh-Sarakh, which he said was older than those around Darunta, between the Caubul River and the Sia Koh. It is situated on a conical hillock between Deh-Sarakh and the hills. In size, it is not so large as that of the Tappa Ashruk which I have mentioned [previously]. It is about 70 yards in circumference, and has never been interfered with by anybody. The Chief refused to take me there, as he said that it would not be safe to venture near the hostile villages of Deh-Sarakh. However, as luck would have it, the fortune of War brought me to the very spot a few days afterwards, and I found that the ruins of enormous stones and granite showed every sign of great age! Thirty yards from it, in a *nullah*, were three large and one small caves which were full of bones and had the putrid smell of the caves which I had luckily, by chance, seen off the Bara pass, and which I have described [earlier in this chapter]. (33) Within two miles of Pesh Bolak, to the South West, is a curious rock about



Deh-Sarakh, Tumulus, with Caves, and stream 3 feet deep.

sixty feet high which the Chief pointed out to us and said that a curious legend belonged to it, which I will now attempt to rescue from entire oblivion by attempting to relate it as he told me this Fragment, or Legend, trusting that these unassuming writings will be treated with leniency!

Legend of the Desire-realizing Rock!

Oh Gentlemen, having mentioned and pointed out to you that curious looking Rock, it may possibly be interesting to record some of the events which occurred during the life of that beautiful, heroic, and unfortunate lady, "the Princess Azizi of Maidanak," who was very anxious to have a Son. She had waited many years without gaining her desire; at length, she appealed to the god of the Hill, and vowed that if in a certain time she had a son, she would throw herself off the Rock.

Within the specified time, the son actually appeared, and in accordance with her vow, as soon as she was able, she repaired to the Rock with the child in her arms, accompanied by the holy and devout moolas of Deh-Suruk, Maidanak, and Pesh Bolak [and] also by several friends, and a great concourse of the idle and curious, as the Princess was famed for her wonderful constancy and bravery. It was a well known thing that the Princess would never forget her honour, the loss of which nothing could restore to her, as she must give up with it the esteem of mankind!

On reaching the summit of the Rock, she looked to the east, she looked to the west, then turned her eyes to heaven, Knelt down and prayed. Standing up again, and having embraced her child, she approached the horrid place. Her proud step never faltered, there was not a single trace of fear on her countenance, she paused one moment only on the brink and took her fatal leap into sixty feet of space, with the child in her arms.

She, of course, was dashed to pieces, but the god of the Hill, in acknowledgement of her faith, caused the child to reach the bottom unhurt. As soon as the whole story became known to the Amir of Caubul, he sent for the boy and adopted him, giving him the name of Azziz Khan, and at the age of eighteen he was created Chief of Atthunnoe!

The remains of the good and beautiful Princess, according to her wishes, were not buried in a sepulchre, but were thrown instead down that deep well, and whoever drinks of the water, from that time [onward], will have his chief desire realized!

On the 17th March [1879] the heavy guns of the Elephant Battery from Ali Musjid, escorted by the 51st Light Infantry, passed through Basawal, en route to Jellalabad, and on the same day an attack was made on a Survey party in the low hills close to Maidanak, and nine miles from Barikab, resulting in

one Officer and two Sikhs being killed and one Officer wounded (Lt. Leach, V.C., RE). (34) Next day, a detachment was sent to the villages of Deh-Sarakh to purchase supplies. [The inhabitants] turned out in large numbers and drove our party back, without any casualty, to the convoy. On the same day, a Guard of the 17th Regiment and 10 Sowars were attacked by the Shinwaries. Two soldiers of the 17th were killed and the enemy captured forty-two camels. The Guard held the hills and eleven hundred camels till they were re-inforced in the evening by the 11th Bengal Lancers, who followed the enemy into the hills. A large Force was sent to Maidanak; several watercourses and a river had to be forded. The villages were found to be quite deserted. The head men, however, sent word that they were willing to pay a fine if we would not destroy their villages. So a fine of three thousand rupees was inflicted, all their towers were blown up, and during the return march a little looting took place — fowls, goats, and sheep were brought to the bivouacking ground, and devoured that night!

A practical joke was played upon Mr. T. Atkins by some comrades. He had been very successful in looting a large bag of eggs which he was carrying on his back, when another soldier slipped two young chickens into it. On arriving at the bivouacking ground, the bag was opened and the owner, on seeing the chickens, was very much astonished, and said that they must have been hatched during the march! He would not believe that they had been put in! On the 24th March, at 1 am, during the night, [the]

11th Bengal Lancers	5th Fusiliers
13th Bengal Lancers	17th Regiment
2 guns 11/9 R.A.	2nd Goorkhas
Sappers and Miners	27th P.N.I.

marched to attack the villages of Deh-Sarakh. Pesh Bolak was reached at 5.30 am, where the Chief informed us that thousands of hill men had gathered together at Deh-Sarakh and meant fighting. (35)

Deh-Sarakh is in the low hills, bounded by spurs which are, in most cases, bleak and bare, but the high ranges behind are well wooded and the peaks are covered with snow! The trees are mostly huge pine and oak. When looking up at these mountains in the early morning, their appearance is like one vast expanse of snow at their top. The huge pine are growing up to about an elevation of 11,000 feet, and below them flourish the smaller pine and the oak. (36)

On [our] approaching the fortified village of Mausam, the enemy opened fire. The country was very stony and the ground broken, a deep nullah was on the right, another on the left, and a third nullah lay some distance in front, and ran across. The ground sloped upwards, and in front it consisted of low undulating hills, gradual in slope, and, except in the valleys and close to the villages, free from wood. A long narrow valley extended from Mausam to the left front, which sloped down towards Pesh Bolak.

In the valley were four large fortified villages with towers, called Deh-Sarakh, one of them at the extreme end of the valley, commanded by the hills above. From these fortified villages thousands of armed men appeared, and tom-toms began to beat (which was at once taken up by all the villages in the hills), and the walls were lined with armed men, and the enemy attacked from all sides.

Half our Cavalry had been dismounted to keep the enemy in check with their carbines, when H.M. 17th Regiment, followed close by the 5th Fusiliers, arriving at the double, drove the enemy back with heavy loss.

In the meantime, the Cavalry, being remounted, moved down the nullah to the right, ascended the ridge, and formed up in line of squadrons with great rapidity, without having been observed by the enemy who were being pressed

back by the advance and heavy fire of the 17th and 5th Fusilliers!

Then suddenly the Lancers charged into the enemy's left flank.

The Shinwaris were taken completely by surprise.

It was a magnificent sight to see. In a few seconds, however, all was over, and the enemy turned and fled down a deep nullah on their right flank, being closely followed up by the Infantry, and leaving sixty dead bodies on the ground.

Our loss was three men killed and twelve wounded, four horses killed and several wounded.

In the nullah, the 17th killed thirteen of the enemy and took two wounded prisoners; one of these latter had received a bad shot wound, the bullet having passed through both the man's legs, and the other [wounded] had a bullet through his right shoulder.

Further up the nullah, we came across the mutilated body of a Bengal Lancer, and turning round a sharp corner suddenly found 40 armed hill men resting. They had with them 2 horses belonging to the Bengal Lancers. Of these, thirty-three were at once shot, and the 2 horses were recovered.

During this time some of the 5th Fusilliers, 17th Goorkhas, [sic] (37) 27th P.N.I., and two guns, attacked the village of Mausam, and after it had been well shelled, the Infantry drove the enemy out. The strong village of Darwazai was next taken, and the four villages of Deh-Sarakh were also shelled and taken!

The "halt" was now sounded, our troops occupying all the villages and the hills beyond. Fire was, however, kept up on the retreating enemy by the artillery, who shelled them up to 2,800 yards, wherever they appeared in large bodies.

On this ridge between the villages and the hills, I had the opportunity of inspecting the ruins of the Deh-Sarakh Tumulus, with its three large caves and one small one, which are shown and described earlier.

At the largest village of Deh-Sarakh there was a Castle, encompassed by a high wall. In the centre of the castle was a large court yard, and just outside a fruit garden, overlooking which was the Head-man's apartment of the Harem! In each village there was a round tower, which varied considerably in dimensions. The entrances to the towers are mere holes, under which a man must stoop to gain admittance, and the whole of the towers are loopholed.

The inhabitants had sent away all their women, herds, and goods to the hills, leaving behind very little loot; some cattle, however, were captured by our troops. The houses were surrounded by courtyards and high loopholed walls without windows, and were substantially built of stone and sundried bricks. Out of one of these houses one Officer secured as loot a very handsome Russian china tea service. In Deh-Sarakh taxes are never paid, the soil is fertile, water plentiful, and during the intervals of cultivation, the people either live on loot, or fight some longstanding blood feud!

When the enemy had disappeared, the troops ate the cooked provisions which each officer and soldier carried in his bag, after which 7 towers were blown up, and the villages were burned, and several hundreds of rifles, **juzzails**, swords, and knives were picked up on the ground.

In the meantime, the Hill men were again collecting, and it was observed from the Tumulus that the enemy, to the number of quite 6,000 armed men, with four Standards, were again going to attack us. A company of the 5th Fusilliers were at once sent up to the Tumulus to support the 17th Regiment, and we were shortly afterwards re-inforced by another company of the 17th.

An Order came to say that we were on no account to fire upon them, as the Political Officer said that they were only a **Jirgah**, [and] that he was expecting [them] to come in to make their submission! (38)

Scarcely was this order received, when the **Jirgah**, which had by this time advanced to within three hundred yards of the Tumulus, made their submission to us by again beating their war drums. Thousands of voices

shouted "Allah, Allah, Ya Allah!" and they opened fire on us.

Our men returned a very heavy fire. Our two guns shelled the fourth village, which had been re-occupied by the enemy, one of whom made a wonderful Jack-in-the-box on the ruins of the tower. He was dressed in white with a red **puggerie** and **Kummerbund**; he would deliver his fire, disappear, and almost immediately re-appear in a different part of the Tower, wave a red standard, and fire again.

He was at last killed by a well-directed shell, which struck the tower where he was, bursting at the same time! The village of Darwazai was then completely destroyed and its tower blown up with a loud report.

The practice of the 2 guns was admirable; every ridge was swarming with the enemy, and each shot appeared to burst just over them, and the 5th [Fusiliers] and 17th [Regiment] opened a murderous fire. Nevertheless, the enemy advanced to within twenty yards, with drawn swords, hoping to overwhelm us with their numbers! Their leader, who was a splendid specimen of a man, being over six feet in height and very active, was dressed in blue, and he advanced waving in front of him a large blue standard, and he actually got to within 40 yards of our troops before he was shot down.

The enemy, in this way attacked our whole line, and exposed themselves in a most reckless manner, in their brave attempt to come to close quarters with us. (39)

The scene was exciting. Our Infantry fire simply mowed down the enemy. The fight was over, and the Cavalry were moved up to charge the retreating foe, but the ground was too broken and strong, so the charge did not take place. We then returned to Pesh Bolak and halted to rest the Troops and to entice the Hill men to come near us again, in order to give the Cavalry a chance of another charge. But they had had enough of it, and would not be tempted beyond the broken ground where they stayed to carry off their dead and wounded.

We then entered the village of Pesh Bolak. The two enormous wooden gates were then closed by us, the loopholed walls were guarded, [as] likewise were the strongly fortified Towers, [and] the large round tower in the centre. Arms were piled, and half an hour's rest ensued, after which the troops returned to Basawal, leaving behind the Goorkhas and the 27th P.N.I., as the Chief of Pesh Bolak was afraid that the Hill Men might attack him from Deh-Sarakh during the night, and, in consequence, had requested that troops might be left to assist him!

Three hundred fresh Goorkhas were sent from Basawal to Pesh Bolak that evening, and [they] returned on the following morning, as the enemy had disappeared.

Hundreds of Rifles, **juzzails**, swords, and knives were captured, and two large **Korans** were found on the ground, riddled with Martini-Henry bullets, close to two dead Moolas. Several head men of villages and influential Moolas were killed! (40)

Next day the **Jirgah** from Deh-Sarakh came in to Basawal to make their submission. They owned to having already buried two hundred and eighty-six of their dead, and they estimated the number of their wounded to be upwards of five hundred and seventy, a great number of whom would die from want of proper medical treatment.

Eight of their principal towers had been blown up and twenty-six prisoners were also taken. The average number of rounds expended by the Force was twenty-four rounds per man. (41)

The old 5th Fusiliers, that night, hospitably put up the Officers and Men of the 17th, and on the following day the latter marched for Jellalabad, and encamped with the rest of the 2nd Brigade on the Caubul side of the celebrated Piper's hill [see Chapt. 1, n. 71].

After breakfast next morning we took our ride to the Begum Saugur, an [or], Queen of the Seas, about 3 miles S.W. of Maidanak. We were told that

it formerly extended over 1,400 acres, but is now covered with grass and vegetation, and we saw a hare and some quail. A narrow cut had, in former years, been made in the bank to drain off the water, and thus harass the Citizens who were partly supplied by an aqueduct from it. It has never since been repaired. The earth has fallen into it, causing the water to cease to flow as it is choked up. The channel for the water was so large that an elephant with its Howdah could go along it with ease. After which, we went to see the Tombs of Alli Shah and Adil Shah, who was deposed and blinded by his brother! (42) The Mosque attached has a fine Portico, built in the same style as the Tombs; its interior is well worth a visit, owing to the almost endless multiplication of geometrical forms produced by the intersections of the arches which support the doming, and which demonstrate that science is of considerable utility even in decoration!

Chapter Four

The inhabitants of Afghanistan have for ages accustomed themselves to imagine that they have attained a high state of civilization, and [are] very far advanced in agriculture and sciences. This I consider a great mistake, and in my opinion they are, as far as concerns Agriculture, very ignorant. (1) The soil is in many parts very fertile, and it is capable of producing with little labour many valuable articles of commerce. The workmen, also, often attain astonishing dexterity at their various callings, especially when we consider the rudeness of their tools. But no very decided improvement seems ever to take place either in agriculture or manufactures, except in Caubul itself, where under the able and practical management of Sir T. Salter Pyne, C.S.I., a large factory for the manufacture of rifles and cartridges is now in proper working order [Chapt. 1, n. 44]. The Afghans are, however, very conservative in their ideas; the consequence is that the same system followed by the Father is implicitly attended to by the Son, who again will transmit it to his children!

To a great degree this [conservatism] may be accounted for by their poverty, but the primary reason is that they have gradually adopted a great many of the prejudices and superstitions of the inhabitants of India, [to the point] that they are almost as wedded to local customs as the Hindoos, and it is most difficult to induce them to deviate from their accustomed routine! The result of this is that a Goldsmith, a Carpenter, Weaver, or Cultivator usually follows the trade, or occupation, to which he was born. This fatal restriction of families to particular callings is a great clog on enterprise, for however lucrative another occupation may be, the Afghan seldom follows it, simply because his Father and ancestors did not do so, and, however important an Afghan's trade may be, he will always leave it in the lurch to take care of itself, for the excitement of fighting out a family blood feud, a sudden raid on a neighbouring village, murder, robbery, or the purloining of cattle. (2)

Cultivation in Afghanistan may be divided into two principal heads, viz. --

- (1) All lands dependent on periodical rains for moisture.
- (2) All lands irrigated by artificial means.

A sufficient quantity of moisture seems to be the great agent for fertility in Afghanistan, and in this respect [Afghanistan] differs entirely from England, where the surplus water has to be drained off to render the soil productive. The "monsoon," or periodical rainy season, which commences in September varies in intenseness according to locality. The Hindoo Koosh, the Himalayas, and the Soulainman Mountains seem to exercise a great effect on the monsoon; so also does the Safed Koh. (3)

Its principal rivers, viz., the Caubul, the Helmund, and the Oxus, have numerous tributaries. In Sinde, the river Indus is the great source of fertility, principally by artificial irrigation. This river rises in the hot season, July and August, when the snow melts on the Himalayas and Hindoo Koosh!

The Afghan system of rice cultivation I have already described on pages



Rice Cultivation by Persian Wheels.

26 and 27, as [well as] their usual mode of raising water for this purpose. Another method of doing so, is from wells, or tanks, by Persian, or sooner Egyptian wheels, a sketch of which follows. These wheels are in general small, but very large ones are in use in Jellalabad and Caubul! A better and more regular supply of water is thus obtained.

The soil varies much in quality and in depth within every township. In the lower grounds it is generally black, often six or eight cubits (9 feet) deep, and highly productive; it gradually decreases in depth, and becomes of a reddish colour as you go towards the high ground, where the rock is either bare or only thinly covered. There are very many different varieties of soil, but I shall only mention the three principal ones, which must strike the most ordinary observer. (4)

- (1) the true black soil.
- (2) adhesive soil, also called black cotton ground.
- (3) copper coloured soil.

(1) The first kind of soil is black, and is commonly some feet deep; its surface does not harden by exposure to the sun, but remains in a crumbly state, and it is considered to be the most valuable kind of soil for agriculture.

(2) Is to all appearance a rich vegetable mould of a deep black colour, and to an inexperienced observer, carries with it the appearance of excessive fertility. This, however, the cultivators say is not the case, because of the deep wide cracks which are found in it in hot weather. Also, from its great disposition to form mud, and from its becoming very hard and tenacious as soon as the rains are over, [it is less highly regarded]. (5)

(3) The third sort is gravelly, and contains a large quantity of decomposed

stone, some of which contain a good deal of iron ore [oxides] which gives it a reddish, and sometimes a yellowish hue. It is met with on the high grounds, and is not nearly so productive as the two sorts already described; but when deep enough, and with a sufficiently abundant supply of rain, grain grows well on it.

The different kinds of grain chiefly grown are as follows: —

(1) **Bajaree** (6) — The time of sowing it is regulated chiefly by the first falls of rain, and the common period is about the middle of June; but I have seen it sown as late as the middle of August. (7) The plough is used, and it is put into the ground in rows; the seed is generally mixed with another grain called **Toor**, and sometimes with another grain called **Jawaree**. **Bajaree** ripens, as far as I can judge, in 3-1/2 or 4 months, and is the principal wet season produce.

(2) **Jawaree** is, more than **Bajaree**, cultivated near Cities, (8) in consequence of the high price its straw bears as forage. The seed is never put into the ground after the end of July, and takes between 4 and 5 months to ripen. **Jawaree** exhausts the soil greatly, and a good crop cannot be produced without its being manured. The straw is excellent forage for horse, and at Caubul and Jellalabad is sold at ten Rupees per one thousand bundles. From the appearance of the plant, I should say that sugar could be extracted from it, but [I] have never heard of the experiment being tried. It is sown broad cast, and when the soil is not very good, some oil plant is put in along with it.

(3) **Raggi** (9) — a kind of vetch, is sown just before the rains, and will grow in all soils. Young plants are often transplanted, when a few inches high, into the fields. The straw is considered good forage, but the grain is not much esteemed.

(4) **Toor** — another kind of vetch, is generally sown with **Bajaree**, and requires between 5 and 6 months to ripen. (10) When split it is called **Dhal**, and on poor soil **Mut**. The seed is small. The Afghans commonly give it to their horses and cattle.

(5) The oil plant is sown with **Jawaree**, and grows into a plant about 2 feet high. It has a pretty yellow flower which gives the fields a charming appearance, and its leaves have prickles on them. The plant is pulled up after the **Jawaree** has been taken off the ground. The Afghan women extract oil from the "Castor oil plant" in their own houses, and all other seeds from which oil is extracted are brought to the women. The oil cake is considered very wholesome food for the cattle to whom it is usually given.

(6) Corn, or **Gehoo**, is sometimes sown broadcast, but more generally with the drill plough. It is put in the ground in September and October, and must be irrigated every 10 days to bring it to perfection. When this is regularly done the crops are astonishing, and ripen in 3 months. It is reaped with a sickle, and the grain is sometimes trodden out by bullocks, but it is more usually separated from the ear by being beaten against a log of wood.

The domestic animals in use for agriculture, or transit of produce, are bullocks, black buffaloes, horses, donkeys, and camels. Cows are small and give little milk. Camels are numerous in Afghanistan, Sindh, and in the sandy countries to the East of the Indus, where they find plenty of provender. There are two kinds of goats — one which resembles the Welsh goat, and the other which are large black animals, with long pendant ears!

The manufacture of oil is carried on to a considerable extent, all lights being dependent on it as there are scarcely any wax candles, though the Afghan Chiefs sometimes use them. Oil is made from Cocoanuts, linseed, castor oil plant, &c. The mill is made of stone, or hard wood, with a pestle placed in it at an angle. It is worked by a camel, or bullock; the oil is taken out with a ladle. Every time the Mill is filled, or charged, the heavy pestle with its tackle has to be removed.



The Manufacture of Oil.

Lamps are made of brass. A small cotton wick is placed in the oil and lighted, and having no protection from the wind, [it] flares and smokes continually. All of the oil mills that I saw were very dirty.

The next class of manufactures relates to clothing. Weaving in cotton and silk has long attained great perfection in Afghanistan. It's muslins and brocades, next to those of Persia and Cashmere, are famous throughout the world. But this [fame] is more to be attributed to the manual dexterity of the workmen and women than to the excellence of the machinery. The climate and the customs of the country dispose the refined class of women to sedentary occupations like weaving, and when there is a demand for light showy clothing, it is natural that stuffs of this description should be produced. But I repeat, that tho' [the cloth is] beautiful as to texture, and even design, still the machinery is vastly inferior to that used in Europe. I have seen the actual manufacture of the fine muslins of Afghanistan and of Cashmere, but from it's [their] appearance, I should think it entirely depended on the manual skill and patience of the Women, and the delicacy of the thread used.

The common cotton cloth is woven in a simple loom, the alternate threads of the warp (which is the thread that crosses the woof) rising and falling as the woof, attached to a shuttle, is passed across by hand, and as the cloth is finished, it is rolled up on a roller. Although a great deal of silk is produced in the country, yet a large amount is imported from Persia and Cashmere. The system of rearing the worms, &c., is similar to that followed in China, but the machinery is rougher. At Caubul and in Jellalabad and many other places, silk Brocades, with gold and silver threads wove into shawl patterns, called "Kincob," are made. These are expensive, as the metallic part of the thread is of pure gold or silver. The pattern is marked out on

cards, or thick paper, and the proper threads of the warp are either inserted, or dropped, by the woman's hand. All the beautiful scarfs of Afghanistan are embroidered with a needle.

The Afghan women have attained a slight knowledge of printing cotton cloths. This is done with a wooden stamp not above four inches square, the required pattern being left in relief. The cloth is placed on a board. The stamp is then slightly dipped in some vegetable solution which will not combine with the dyeing colour; it is then stamped on the cloth with great rapidity, and from long practice the women become so expert that the joints in the pattern are scarcely perceptible. But still, it is a slow process. It is then allowed to dry, and after being dyed the proper colour it is washed, when the pattern appears white. A second and third printing follows!

Red, brown, and black outlines, with the white ground in places, seem to be the prevalent taste; but in most parts of Afghanistan colours of bright tints are the most popular among the women, while the men prefer to dress in white, or blue, with a bright turban!

The manufactures of wool are of the coarsest kind, and scarcely worth mentioning. Common black and gray woollen blankets are used throughout the country. Hemp and flax seem to be confined to making grain bags, pack saddles, and ropes. Carpets are also made partly of cotton, dyed red and blue, and look well. (11) Vast quantities of common chintz, calico, &c., &c., from England, are procured through Persia!

Working in metal is the next branch of manufacture. Nearly all the cooking utensils, vessels for water, and lamps are made of brass and copper. The two former articles are beaten out, and the marks of the hammer are afterwards quite visible; they are of the simplest forms, and the patterns seem never to be deviated from. They solder the joints very neatly. The lamps are cast and are rather classic in their designs. Some of the smaller brass vessels are turned on a lathe, and they occasionally tin the inside. Coppersmiths form a distinct class and have their shops together.

Blacksmiths execute all iron work very roughly, their tools being very inferior. Another reason for the badness of their work is their being seated on the ground, and working with the iron too cold. They generally use charcoal fires, but when a large piece of iron has to be heated, cowdung cakes are burnt, and answer well. The Afghan bellows are rather curious. They are made of the skin of goats, so formed as to leave a square opening, with two pieces of bamboo attached to the sides. These [the bellows] have also handles for the fingers to pass through so that the opening is closed, or opened, at will. When the bellows are to be used, the skin is drawn out, and the mouth, or orifice, opened; it is then closed by the man's fingers, and the air contained in the skin forced out through the muzzle. A boy working a pair of bellows alternately will create a current of air. (12)

Casting in iron was unknown in an Afghan Workshop until quite a recent date in Caubul; (13) but they are very successful with brass and gun metal, and very heavy pieces of ordnance are often made. But they are always run with a bore. Shot are formed of hammered iron. Their matchlock barrels are wretched, and most of the Afghan swords, tho' very sharp, are inferior weapons to those made in Persia, or Turkey. They grind them on a wheel.

Jewellery in Afghanistan has one great advantage, the gold and silver, being without alloy, retain their colour. Afghans often convert their spare money into armlets and chains which, when necessary, can always be sold for their weight. They only consider diamonds, rubies and emeralds as precious stones; these are in general badly cut and set, tho' some of their patterns are pretty. Pearls are also valued, but not on account of their colour! (14)

Carpenters use tools similar to those in Europe, but not so good; they do much of their work with a kind of axe, called a *Rassulah*, which also answers as a mallet. (15) They appear to waste a great deal of material, and the great fault of their work, whether house-building, agricultural



Blacksmiths at Work.

implements, or carts, is that they employ too much wood. This renders it unnecessarily heavy, but all their carved work they render with great taste. They drill at their holes with drill and bow, and never use a gimlet. Turners' tools are also very simple; two iron stantions, with a rather heavy bar to steady the work, and for a rest for the tools, a common hoe is all that is used. As the object to be turned is made to revolve on its axis by the hoe, the cutting tool must be withdrawn every time the hoe is run back, which causes a great loss of time; but the work turned out is often very good! (16)

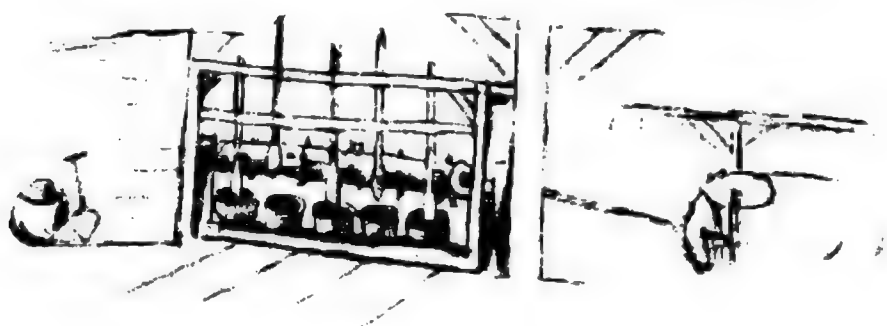
In most large cities the Afghans make gunpowder which, if used immediately, is pretty good. (17) Charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre, reduced to a fine powder are mixed together and amalgamated in a stamp mill, as shown by the sketch on the next page. The mortars are made of hard wood or Gun metal. The Afghans are very expert at making fire works and rockets, and I have seen some beautiful displays. There is an extensive diffusion of salt and saltpetre along the Frontier between Afghanistan and India; yet the Afghans have not as yet taken the trouble to work any salt mines, although they can note for themselves the enormous benefit derived by the Indian Government from the Salt Range of hills near Attock! (18) In the Afghan hills salt springs and rock salt are always to be noticed as existing in strata of red sandstone.

Pottery is quite in its infancy. They only make common pots, water bottles, and a few coarse dishes; these in general burn [are fired] either black or red, and hold water very well. (19) All are made on a horizontal wheel which is set in motion by the Potter, himself, who imparts the impetus by a small stick inserted in a hole near the circumference of the wheel; when the wheel revolves with sufficient rapidity the stick is withdrawn, and the clay, which has been placed on the centre of the wheel, is formed into the required shape. Burnt bricks for building are much smaller than those used in England, but they are very hard. Tiles are also used; some are flat and others semicircular; and excellent lime called **Chunam** is made throughout the country!

A few other common trades are practised, the making of paper being one of them; but as there is a less demand for this article than in Europe, the manufacturies I have seen are few in number. There is one which is situated in a village near Rozabad which enjoys considerable reputation, for the work

there is done by hand and entirely depends on the skill of the workmen. The pulp which is made from cotton, rags, &c., is mixed in *chunam* [lime plaster] tanks, and it is then stirred up with a wooden shovel. The frames, which in Europe are made of wire, are here formed of very slender strips of "bamboo". The workman, standing at the edge of a tank, slides the frame just below the surface of the pulp, and raising it gradually, allows the water to drain through the crevices between the bamboos, and this operation if not done with great care, [will cause] the sediment to be of uneven thickness. In a few seconds the pulp will have attained sufficient consistency to allow it, now resembling soft wet paper, to be removed from the frame. The sheets of paper are afterwards stuck against smooth *chunam* walls and allowed to dry, and when removed the paper is covered with size and polished with a hard wooden mallet. There are several kinds of paper, one partly made of silk!

Tanning is another industry carried on, and the leather produced is of inferior quality. They use bark of trees, saltpetre, and tallow to tan sheep skins. The hides of bullocks and cows, after having had the hair removed by



Making Gunpowder.

the action of time, are sewn up into bags, and, being suspended from a frame, are filled with tan and water, and remain in this state till the hides are properly saturated. The *Moochee*, or worker in leather, then uses it to make very coarse sandals, shoes, water bags, leather bottles, and harness.

The primitive Afghan carts, which are now sometimes used for the transit of produce, have very small wheels which are, as a rule, made of solid wood without spokes; (20) I have even seen them made of stone. The axle-tree is always of iron, but not extending under the cart. A platform is placed above the wheels, and is supported from the axle-tree, something like the system in railway carriages. Many of them are prettily ornamented with brass, and are neatly finished! A superior kind of bullock cart has been introduced in Afghanistan and is now being rapidly adopted, as the quantity it can carry is much greater than in the old models! There is, however, only one good road, which we made during the later campaign of 1878-79-80; it runs from the Khyber Pass to Caubul! (21)

I must not omit to mention the domestic dwellings of the inhabitants which vary in construction according to the climate and locality. Near the mountains where heavy rain falls the houses have all slanting roofs, either thatched or tiled. On the high table land the walls are thick, with flat terrace roofs supported by wooden pillars; most of the rooms are small except those occupied by Chiefs and by respectable families who reside in inner courts. There are no chimneys; the houses of the common people are dark and smoky. These miserable dwellings are crowded together in villages surrounded by high mud walls, and with unpaved streets, and no sewers; [they] would be the picture of wretchedness were it not for the bright sun and cloudless sky which certainly gilds this Eastern country. (22) The yellow figures of the natives robed in their showy clothing renders the scene picturesque. Of the



Afghan Bullock Carts.

great antiquity of the Afghan clans there is little doubt. They have always claimed descent from the old Jewish nation, tracing their origin to Talut (King Saul of Scripture), and I believe that we have in our possession a history, written in Persian, of the nation, compiled by a learned Afghan named Niamut Oulla, in which is introduced a short compendium of the Sacred History from the creation of the world to the time when Nebuchadnezzar led the Jews into captivity. (23) That King is styled by him as Bokhtnesser [Bakhtnasr], (24) and they [the Afghans] state that when he carried away the Israelites he settled numbers of them in the mountainous districts of Ghor, Ghuznee, Caubul, Candahar, Koh Ferozeh [Firoz Koh], and the parts lying within the fifth and sixth climates where the descendants of Asif and Afghana, posthumous sons of Saul, especially fixed their habitations. It is curious that the Afghans still retain many Scriptural proper names which are never used by the Arabs, Persians, or their descendants, and all the Officers who were serving in the late Afghan War were struck with the strong Jewish cast of features of many of the Tribes! (25) If further proof be required that this people were formerly connected, or at any rate well acquainted with the Jews, we will instance the style of architecture of the Petan [Pathan] tombs of Coolburgha [?], and the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmoud at Ghuznee, as they are decidedly of the old Egyptian character (see description of the latter on page 7), and are very much of the same kind as was probably used in ancient Jerusalem. The two beautiful brick Columns [minarets at Ghazni] (*vide* sketch page 6), the only remains of Mahmoud's Mosque, and which tradition says stood in front of the building, may perhaps have been intended as a copy of those mysterious bronze Columns which were erected before the great temple of Solomon. This is the more extraordinary as the first named place is nearly four thousand miles from the banks of the Nile, and in the intervening countries a perfectly different style of architecture was followed! (26)

It may be urged that since the dispersion of the Tribes Afghanistan has been repeatedly overrun by other Nations, such as the Greeks under Alexander, the Arabians, Tartars, and in more modern days by the Persians and English. But, in answer to this, it must be remembered that the Jews, who returned to their country, have for eighteen hundred odd years suffered much greater persecutions, [and] yet they are still a distinct race. [Furthermore], the almost inaccessible fastnesses of Afghanistan must, in the worst of times, have afforded great protection to the inhabitants!



When Civilized by Great Britain.
The Afghan Country near Rozabad as it might be!

I have already mentioned on page 24 that sugar is cultivated in Afghanistan; I will now finish this chapter with a sketch of the process, together with a short description of what I saw! The sugar canes are cut down close to the ground, and having been cleared from [of] leaves are squeezed between two upright endless screws worked by bullocks; these press out all the juice which is collected in a large vessel, and in this state [it] resembles sugar and water, but of a whitish colour. The juice is then heated over a brisk fire (generally in an iron pan), but not allowed to boil, and a little lime is sometimes mixed with it to assist in clarifying it. This first heating lasts about an hour. When cool it is again put on the fire, but this time it is boiled till the watery portions are sufficiently evaporated, and the residue is [then] poured into conical moulds. These moulds are often only holes dug in the ground, but lined with coarse cloth. As it cools, the sugar crystallizes, the coarser parts remaining at the bottom. The whole of this process is carried on in the open air! (27)

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the "gentle"!! and "simple"!! Afghans are not addicted to drunkenness; the great number of their liquor shops frequented by them prove the contrary. Independently of "Toddy," ardent spirits are procured by distillation from sugar, rice, and many other substances; some that I have tasted are very fiery, and most execrable. The still is of iron, but the worm is of copper (in a spiral curved form), passing through water.

I have now described, in a cursory way, the principal manufactures of the Afghans. As regards their knowledge of the higher branches of Art and Literature, it may be enumerated as follows! I, of course, exclude the City of Caubul where, under the able management of Sir T.S. Pyne, some progress has of late been made!

Watchmaking is almost unknown. Astronomical and Optical instruments also [are unknown], tho' formerly some Princes and Chiefs had a few clumsy solar instruments, by which the more learned natives have attempted to calculate eclipses, &c. Mathematics are at the same low ebb, and the little that is known is derived from the Arabs; but even the best informed confound this science with magic. (28) In civil engineering their bridges are always too heavy, with not sufficient waterway. (29) They have no Native roads worth mentioning (of their own making), and only at some of the most difficult passes in the hills have they sometimes attempted to construct a causeway. The steam Engine, Electricity, and Telephone have scarcely been heard of! and the bicycle and tricycle have not as yet invaded the country.



The Making of Sugar.

(30) Many of their rivers, which with a little science and outlay could be made available for inland communication, or for water power, are from Afghan ignorance allowed to remain useless. Literature may be said to be at a standstill. The **Koran** (which is in Arabic) is a sealed book to nearly all Mahomedans who have to follow the traditions and teachings of their Moolas. There is scarcely any general literature, but there are some superior books in Persian, principally of Poetry. Dramatic performances may be considered as unknown, unless we reckon puppet shows. (31)

Their music is execrable, because noise is the only thing aimed at, and their paintings are entirely innocent of perspective or shadow. Such, I regret to say, was the state of Afghanistan a few years ago when I last saw that country, and from all accounts it is little changed since then, although our Railway is at this present moment in perfect working order from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and the Punjab, to Peshawar. With European energy, science, and capital, what a change might be effected! (32)

Chapter Five

From the appearance of iron ore [oxide?] in the strata of slaty clay which I noticed along the low hills skirting the Sissobi and Thibai passes in the vicinity of Deh-Sarakh, Maidanak, [and] as far as Altanoor, there can be no doubt that in the adjacent districts will be found iron, lime stone and coal, and also that, from the quantity of red sand stone, salt will be discovered, as there are salt springs in the coal formation! (1)

I have already mentioned the fact that Afghanistan is a very valuable country for its gold and copper, so that the support of London, and other large Cities, should be a certainty [i.e., be desired or required] in order to turn these sources of revenue to the best advantage. (2) If any Nation has a Future to look forward to, Afghanistan is that Country, for it is, as regards its mineral wealth, one of the richest in the World. By opening out this untouched and almost unexplored region we would not only give a new era of life to Afghanistan, bestow enormous trade to our manufacturing centres, but we would solve that ever vexed question to Fathers and Mothers of --

q. What shall we do with our Sons?

a. Send them to Afghanistan!

The Indian Government have hitherto (except during the late wars and expeditions) not permitted Englishmen to cross the border to carefully explore these valuable hills for fear that they would be murdered or kidnapped and cause complications to ensue with the Amir. This state of things has now, during peacetime, been going on for upwards of half a century, and we are at this present moment no further advanced as regards Trade and Commerce with that Country than we were in those days, although our Railway Terminus at Peshawar is only a few miles distant! (3)

Are we going to carry on this "Inactivity" Policy for another fifty years? All that is necessary to work these rich mineral mines and numerous Tumuli are machinery, brains, [and] pluck, combined with human skill and industry!

It is a curious fact that a sort of roof to a strata of coal, composed of all sorts of ferns, plants, and vegetables in the most extraordinary preservation, and sometimes iron ore and fossils, is found about three feet above the coal. (4)

Now we may ask ourselves what will the future generation in England do, should the present supply of coal happen to fail, which Proprietors of Mines consider may be the case during the next century. Anyway the price of coal must be tremendously increased unless steps are at once taken to obtain a fresh supply. We cannot exist without it as it is now used for everything. Many people think of it in their towns, villages, and country houses as being merely of use to them for warmth and cooking purposes, but they generally forget that it is essential for the working of every description of machinery -- for our railways and steamers, [and] also for excavating, lifting heavy weights, pumping, printing, and in fact, everything! Where would our Manufactories be without it?

At several places in Afghanistan I witnessed the great delight which the inhabitants have in gambling. They are fond of gambling at anything, but what they really prefer is quail fighting. Every man has a live quail, or

two, about him, and he is always ready to bet that his quail will kill another man's quail. These birds will always fight to kill, or be killed. When the fight (which is cruel sport) is over, the victor is put up for sale by auction, and often is bought for a very high price! The contest is watched by hundreds of Afghans, with the most absorbing earnestness, who squat upon the ground and relieve their suspense and anxiety with regard to the money that they have staked by frequent whiffs of the "hubble bubble" **Hookah**, which is solemnly passed round from one to the other during the fight!

Cock fighting is also much patronized, and Wrestling, at which they become wonderfully expert, is thought a great deal of, for to become a perfect wrestler a man must not only possess great strength and agility, but he must own to no common degree of foresight, acuteness, attention, and deliberation combined! The art of grappling in a wrestle is much studied!

If you ask an Afghan this question -- What Religion do you belong to? He would reply: "There is no God but God [and] Mahomed [is] the messenger of God." Should you inquire further about his religion, you will ascertain that his indifference to religious impressions gives additional evidence to the following conclusion, viz.

The small powers of the uncultivated understandings of the Nation are so limited that their ideas on their religion are, and have ever been, absolutely nil, and that their indifference as to what will hereafter happen to them is still more extraordinary to a person who belongs to the Christian Religion! They never reflect on the past, and all that they care to remember with regard to the future World is that there are many thousands of Steps in Heaven, and on the top step will be found God, Mahomed, and Jesus Christ. On the second step are the best Mahomedans, and on the third step are the second best Mahomedans, but on the fourth are the third best Mahomedans and the very best Christians, and so on, until the last step, where will be found the best Jews. The bad Mahomedans, bad Christians, and the remainder of the Jews, Hindoos, Bhuddists, and Pagans, &c., &c., will go to a place called **Jehannum**, or Hell, and "Verily," as it is written in the **Koran**,

"Hell will be full"!!!

The above is what the Afghan believes to be what must happen, and he further believes that if he should kill in fair fight in battle, or by murder, a Christian, Jew, or other Infidel, his place amongst the **Houris** in Paradise is securely reserved for him for doing such a righteous deed! Therefore, neither the promises or threats of the Christian, or any other kind of Religion, make the slightest difference to him! He is, in fact, nothing better than a mere animal of the most ferocious type! (5)

But oh! What a boon it would be to Londoners if only one could induce the Hyde Park professional Humbug to quit the vicinity of the Marble Arch and emigrate to the happy hunting grounds of Afghanistan, for he would never return to make our Sundays hideous in London with his blatant, coarse, and ignorant addresses on the Christian Religion. The Afghans would receive him with open arms, and not a man would forget to dip his sword or knife in the blood, so as to insure a higher step in Paradise!

Just watch this professional Humbug on a Sunday in Hyde Park and you will notice that all he preaches and says is manipulated by his Imagination, and all that he hopes for is a few coppers when the hat is handed round (which he spends afterwards "perhaps" on objects of charity), and the blind admiration of his listeners to satisfy his craving for conceit!

But during his harangue about Countries, people, and customs whom he has never seen, attempted to meet, or understand, let anyone interrupt him with a "Poser" which you are well aware he, from his ignorance, cannot solve; the professional Humbug becomes temporarily insane and his temper is quite ungovernable! How many of these curious and unexpected combinations of circumstances do we meet with, not only in History, but in savage Mahomedan

countries like Afghanistan, which we would not hesitate to denounce as absurd and improbable if they were read of in a novel, but which can be seen every Sunday in peaceful Hyde Park and in every City in the Empire!

The Afghans, however, are not to be taken in in this manner, and notwithstanding that they are singularly fond of novelty in matters of taste, they have always shown themselves, in the pursuit of science or Religion, extremely bigotted to old opinions! Their particular ambition is to deceive their own relations and friends. On every occasion, they embrace each other on meeting for some minutes in true Oriental fashion, with mutual expressions of the warmest affection. Before finally parting, however, they always quarrel. And thus they spend their lives, now attacking their relations, friends, and neighbours, and, if successful, carrying off their women and cattle, burning their villages, and killing the men, and now in turn opposing a similar attack on themselves. So accustomed, indeed, are the Afghans to a life of contention for superiority, that every individual, knowing that either he, or his father, grandfather, or uncle has at some time or other given some neighbour cause for revenge, is at all times on his guard, and preserves a vigilance which is apparent in his every action, not only on the movements of his neighbours, but also over those of the members of his own family, of whom he is quite as distrustful as of strangers. They hate one another with a cordial hatred, and they are ever on the alert to pay off many outstanding scores. The Zakha Khels hate the neighbouring tribe, the Kuki Khels. The Jajis are considered heretics by the Toris, who are orthodox Mussulmans of the Sunni sect. These opposed religious dogmas [i.e., Sunni vs. Shi'a] which they hold undoubtedly greatly intensify the mutual hatred of these neighbouring tribes. Each of them is always on the watch to surprise some member of the opposite tribe, and consequently, none of either tribe dares transgress the limits of the other by crossing the intervening hill, except at the risk of his life. (6)

In their dress, the Afghans differ to a certain extent from the Persians and Pathans. (7) The summer costume for the poor class is usually a loose shirt worn over very broad trousers. Both are of cotton cloth, which is sometimes dyed blue, and a blue, white, yellow, green, or red **puggie**, according to the tribe, is worn. The winter costume, the **Posteen**, is usually worn over these, and [on the feet] sandals made of the coarse grass which is grown on the hills [are worn]. The **Posteen**, or sheepskin coat, is a very warm dress. The **Khozai** coat is also used, and has the advantage of not only being warm but waterproof; it resembles the **Posteen** but is made of coarse white felt. The trousers, in appearance, much resemble the English "Knickerbocker" and are gathered into plaits [pleats] from the knee to the joint of the foot with the leg [ankle]. They wear no socks, or stockings. The sandals are also made of palm leaf, [and] are the very best sort of protection to the feet on stony, or rocky ground. The summer and winter costume of the poor women resembles that worn by the men, but in addition they wear a **chadar**, or sheet, which is either white, or dyed blue, green, red, or yellow. This is placed over the head and hangs down the back and is used as a sort of veil to the face in case of necessity. (9)

The upper class of Afghans dress usually in a wide shirt and sleeves and large trousers of fine calico or muslin; sometimes they are made of "Markhor," or wild goat [*Capra megaceros*] wool, but are often composed of English fabrics of very bright colours. A cloak called the **choga** (made of camel's hair) [is] worn loose and open all the way down in front, from the neck to the ankles, with sleeves longer than the arms. (10) A brightly coloured "Kummerbund" of silk [is worn] round the waist, in the folds of which is placed the Afghan long knife. These "kummerbunds" are sometimes as much as twenty-four feet in length, by four feet in breadth. It is also the proper place to carry the revolver. They wear a gold, or silver, skull cap, around which is wound the turban of various colours, and a pair of warm

stockings with the embroidered shoes completes the turn out!

The rich women wear a coloured silk shirt over a close-fitting jersey; the shirt has broad sleeves and is, at its lower extremities, outside the "pyjama," or loose trousers, which latter are of silk, or other fine material, and a silk shawl [is worn] over the head. They wear, out of doors, the same costume as is used by the rich women in Cairo, or Constantinople. Made of a large covering sheet, sewn by one border round a small circular headpiece, it is thrown over the body and envelopes it from top to toe, effectually concealing the wearer who, however, can see all around through a couple of holes for the eyes covered with thin muslin. I have seen them wearing blue, red, and green leggings, and very handsome slippers! They dye their hands and feet with "henna" and blacken their eyelids with a sort of lamp black. (11) They also prick their skins and stain the punctured spots with a coloured fluid and indigo, and consider it fashionable to adorn in this manner the nose, forehead, arms, and between the breasts, while the fingers, arms, legs, and wrists are always ornamented with a tattoo of coloured rings. (12) Many of the upper class of Afghans would, if in England, be considered quite brunettes; some of them are quite fair and even rosy in appearance. Their features are handsome, of the Jewish type. The hair, which is black (but often dyed red, or yellow, according to taste), is worn long and plaited into two long tails that hang down the back and are tied at their extremities with long silken tassels. They are very illiterate, being perfectly ignorant of reading, writing, or arithmetic, and they only care for one sort of amusement, viz., the intrigues. Should they, however, be found out by the husband, the usual punishment is instant death, or having the nose cut off; but sometimes they (having been publicly beaten) are placed, in a state of nudity, on the backs of asses, or bullocks, and made to ride through the principal streets and thoroughfares, amidst the Jeers and maledictions of the populace.

To sum up, the Afghan woman is always conceited, cunning, and full of intrigues, while the man is brave, cunning, bloodthirsty, and full of confidence, cool and calculating. The latter lead a miserable life of tribal disputes and petty warfare which draw into full play the savage ferocity of their character. All this, however, might, and I believe could, be cured if we, as a great Nation on their Frontier, only did our duty as a friend and nearest neighbour to them; for in Afghanistan extravagance in jewels and ornaments defy all the sumptuary laws, although the latter are as useless as they are plentiful. (13) The Ladies like to wear muslins, silks, and shawls which are dyed blue, yellow, green and sometimes red. Their perfumes beat those of Egypt and India; they wear pretty knick-knacks of all sorts. Their furs, which come from Russia, are often very handsome, and on the thumb of the left hand a small looking glass is invariably to be seen. (14) They are fond of dyeing and tattooing their faces, painting the eyes, and using red and yellow ochre for their finger and toe nails. The bracelets and necklaces that are worn, and also the rings and ear-rings, are often very beautiful and of wonderful workmanship. Upon the signing of the marriage contract in the higher classes, rich gifts are presented by the bridegroom, consisting of jewels of [i.e., set in] gold and silver, according to his rank and wealth, and [musical] instruments are employed, and the ceremony closes by the paring the nails of the wife's fingers and toes!

At Dakka there is always to be found a large encampment of Gipsies [see Chapt. 3, n. 3]. I saw them on one occasion when [they were] fording the Caubul River with their families and goods, and the effect produced by their line of march was highly picturesque. These strange people seem to have spread themselves all over the world, and although they differ much in appearance according to the several countries in which they wander, the same leading features distinguish them all, viz., their abhorrence of labour, their thievish dispositions, and their continual change of abode. The

Gipsies in Afghanistan, like their brethren in Europe, never have a fixed habitation. They generally live in small straw huts which are, if possible, more easily put up and taken down than a tent; but some of their hordes, like their ancestors, shelter themselves all the year round under canvas. Their beasts of burden are donkeys of a small breed, and invariably of most miserable appearance, yet the loads they manage to carry are perfectly surprising. The poor women, next to the donkeys, seem to be the hardest worked, the lazy "Lords of creation" deeming it beneath their dignity to do anything; and it must be [the result of] their [the women's] hardships, together with the effects of the climate, that there are few beauties to be seen among them. (15) A Gipsie's donkey, laden with his house, children, fowls and millstones — for here everybody grinds his own corn -- would make an excellent subject for the fine pencil of a Wilkie, or a Daniel [Daniell], if they were alive! (16)

In Afghanistan the Nelumbium, or sacred Lotus, is a flower of greater use than is generally known, serving as an article of food; it is cultivated on a large scale both for its roots and seeds, the latter of which when dried are like nuts, and it is to be regretted that it is not more generally found in Africa on tanks and wells, where its broad flat leaf, floating on the surface of the water, would offer a considerable check to evaporation.

From Dakka I crossed over the Caubul river on a raft to Lalpura which is a good sized town; but from the oppressive nature of the Amir's government, [it] is in no very flourishing state. Its population is stated at between seventeen and eighteen thousand persons, but is yearly decreasing, numbers emigrating to Peshawar and Jellalabad, and other places. The fort, which has a double wall round it, with a deep wet ditch, was built about AD 1500 by Khoja Jehan, a feudatory of the Amir of Caubul, and as a sign that it belonged to that State, several of the bastions have two Tigers, the Arms of the Dynasty, sculptured on them. The battlements are most curiously castellated and on three of the towers are mounted guns of large calibre; it is almost needless to say that it would be able to offer but a slight resistance to a disciplined Army; yet the Afghans have a high opinion of its strength, and are extremely jealous of Englishmen viewing the defences.

In the middle of the day, Mounshie Harin Khan, a retainer of the Killedar, or Governor, of the Fort came and called on us. He begged us to accept the respects of that high personage who much regretted that his orders prevented him from leaving the Fort, or allowing us to go into it without a **Perwan** [purwana] (order or passport) from Caubul. He, however, subsequently granted us permission to walk around the works within the Covered Way, accompanied by some fifteen Irregulars armed to the teeth with rifles, swords, and knives, and even went so far as to invite us to dinner, an honor which we declined, knowing a present would be expected in return. To our Guards we were obliged to give a Bakshish, or largess, of two rupees! with which they departed, praising the liberality of the English Sahibs! From these Guards we also received a magnificent account of the military efficiency and numbers of the garrison, amounting, according to them, to five thousand Afghans and nearly as many Lalpurians; and to keep up these favourable impressions of their power, they continued beating the "Nobus," or great drums of state, and firing rifles and matchlocks within the fort during the whole day. But one of our servants who peeped in declared that they numbered at the outside only about two hundred Afghan troops! As Falstaff says: "Lord, Lord, how this world is given to lying!" (17)

We recrossed the Caubul river to Dakka in an Afghan ferry boat of most clumsy construction; the one in which we embarked had a tiger's head sculptured on the prow and could contain from 60 to 70 persons, so that [one may infer] the travellers between the Khyber Pass and Lalpura must be numerous. Horses and cattle are obliged to swim, each of the former having for a conductor, a man with a gourd tied round his middle; but buffaloes, of



Crossing the Caboul River on a raft to Lalpura.

which there are numbers thereabouts, still retain their native habits so far that they invariable cross of themselves in herds. These animals swim remarkably well, and can remain under water a considerable time. There are three Mosques at Lalpura, and at the door of the largest I noticed a Moola and a little girl seated on the steps, and on any offering being made by the devotees, the latter immediately seized on it, and, if of fruits or sweetmeats, put them "sans cérémonie" into her mouth. To the rear of this Mosque was a large marble platform with two fountains, and on the former was seated a congregation of Moolas, fat, lazy and sleek, conversing in a noisy tone of voice, and with much laughter. The court itself, which is covered with a tiled roof rudely supported by vast Teakwood pillars, was crowded with persons looking towards Mecca. (18) Inside the town were dirty narrow streets covered with refuse and offal of the most offensive description. Passing by them we entered a street paved with smooth stones with sewers under them; it was lined by numerous shops of sweetmeat sellers, makers of children's turbans, kinkob [gold brocade] dresses, bangles and women's ornaments; some had heaps of red ochre [henna?] used by the fair sex, strings of flowers, and in short, everything necessary for Pooja (worship). Further down the street, which is narrow and much crowded, stands an unfinished stone gateway built in the Moorish style, which is high and somewhat imposing, up which there are some steps to the top, and from it we had a good view of the town. Here we saw a poor man that struck us more than the rest; he was acting the madman, if he was not one in truth, and kept dancing and jumping about in a most ridiculous manner, to the sound of two castanets which he accompanied with his voice, and seemed to be the butt of everyone. Turning to the right, standing over to the west, we found [that] a covered Piazza faced us, but from being placed very close to the main wall, we could not see properly into it. Returning by another street, we remarked a female singing and playing on the Vena (a sort of guitar), (19) to whom the other persons present showed a degree of respect little short of adoration! A few yards further on we came across a very holy old Moola, having only a brick dust coloured cloth wound round his loins for his whole attire. He was abominably dirty and covered with sores, and as we approached he cried out to us:

"Srwoon Noko" "Touch me not!" implying thereby that he was holy, and we impure, and [that] by touching him, [we] would deprive him of a little of his sanctity. We, of course, allowed him to take as wide a berth as he chose, fearing quite as much to come in contact with his filth, as he did of our impurity; a good bath would have done him a great deal of good! (20) Three days later we paid a second visit to the town, which we crossed in it's extreme length. It contains several good Bazaars and shops; in one of them we bought a quarter of a rupee's worth of sweetmeats which we gave to an Elephant; but we did not escape so cheaply, for the minute the nature of our purchase was perceived, we found ourselves surrounded by a crowd of dirty little boys and girls, and were happy to purchase our retreat at the expense of a few more ~~seers~~ of sticky sugar. (21) On the whole the appearance of Lalpura, with its mosques, wells, tanks, courts, crowded streets, gaudy shops, and dirty sedate Moolas, reminds one very much of Cairo.

The next day we followed the course of the Caubul river, as far as Chardeh which is not far distant from Barikab, on both banks of which are extensive date groves, and the largest place near is Ali Boghan, in which are a few tolerable Mosques. The natives of the towns and villages through which we passed stared at us a good deal. At Chardeh we crossed the Caubul river, which is here about 1/3 of a mile broad, in a ferry boat of the most extraordinary construction. It consisted of a large circular basket covered with leather, propelled by three men with flat paddles which they used as if they were shovelling the water under the boat. The diameter was, as far as we could guess, fifteen feet, and the depth three feet; the frame which supported it was of stout sticks, perhaps as large as a man's wrist. These sticks were twisted together, whilst the bottom was of regular basket work, and the whole covered exteriorly with hides sewn together. The boat held with perfect ease not only ourselves, saddles, &c., &c., but also upwards of twenty persons, and, according to the Afghans, [it] could bear eighty passengers packed however rather close together. To guide it properly was impossible, and we therefore trusted mostly to the stream which, with the paddles, sent us circling to the other side; but we must have been carried down at least one mile before we reached the other bank. The horses and baggage ~~tattoos~~ (ponies) and a bullock, or two, swam across! It is worthy of remark that exactly the same sort of basket boats which are employed to this day in Afghanistan, and in some parts of India, were used on the Tigris in the days of Herodotus, and they have often been of much use to Armies in crossing rivers. Feroze Shah used them in AD 1398, and a detachment of the British Army crossed its heavy guns (without even dismounting them) over the Toongbudra in 1812; they are flat bottomed and from that circumstance nearly impossible to upset. (22)

Having disembarked we pushed on, after crossing the Caubul River, to a large town called Kunar which is distant about twenty-five miles from Ali Boghan. Kunar is situated on a tributary of the Caubul River and has the hill to the S. which is about 8,900 feet in height, and [there is] an important fortified town, called Torakewa [Torakhwa] about twenty miles from Kunar. (23) To go there one must traverse the Siliala [Silala] Pass, and a traveller often has a very unpleasant time with the hill men, who amuse themselves by taking an occasional pot shot. An awkward rush was experienced, for which preparations had been made, and six dead hill men were left upon the ground. These hill men are very superstitious; for instance, near Torakewa there is a platform which surrounds a receptacle which is also a Tumulus of the mighty dead. (24) The vastness of the unbroken front and the austere simplicity of the architecture struck us with admiration and surprise. The ornaments are few, but judiciously arranged; a bold cornice of dark stone projecting from twelve to fourteen feet has a noble effect, but it gives to it an indescribably magnificent, though melancholy, appearance. Under this cornice, on the south face, is a thunderbolt suspended by an iron



Crossing the Caubul River in basket ferry boat at Chardeh.

chain. This curiosity, which outwardly resembles a large black stone, acts, according to the natives, as a preventive against lightning, and during a thunderstorm, is said to change its colour to a fiery red, swinging about all the while in a strange manner, as if the evil spirit, which according to the Afghan belief must be confined within its adamantine sides, was desirous of breaking loose and joining in the tumult of the elements. (25)

On entering we found the tomb to be of a square form, occupying the whole space within the walls. Eight Moorish arches of about sixty feet in height spring from the sides, and, intersecting each other, form a sort of octagon above, the spaces between them being filled in with vaulting. Projecting brackets, carved into the shape of pineapples, again spring from the angles of the octagon which thus assumes a circular shape, and above the cornice the vault of the dome rises in unbroken grandeur to the height of about 100 feet from the pavement. The light is sparingly admitted through small pointed windows from three sides of the edifice, and the whole of the interior is incrustated with white *chunam* which is unfortunately stained by damp. It is entirely devoid of ornament, with the exception of the projecting brackets, the carving of which is relieved with deep green, and the arches at the sides of the building which are closed up with dark-coloured stone screens. We visited the vaults by torchlight, but found the confined air so disagreeable that we were glad to return to the upper regions. The roofs are curiously groined and around the places where the tombs are, there are heaps of white earth, said to have been brought from Mecca! (26)

On our way home we passed another burial ground; the remains of some saintly Moolas repose in small unpretending tombs, but the holiness of these personages seems to have communicated itself to the ground about them, as many a true believer is to be seen reposing at their feet. (27) From there, following a narrow and somewhat winding path on each side of which are rocks, ruins, and water courses, we arrived at the fortified house of Pekhali Khan, an Afghan nobleman of distinction. The *Malli*, or gardener, belonging to the establishment, conducted us over this fine establishment, as Pekhali Khan had gone on urgent business to Caubul. We found a fine garden at the rear, and in consideration of a trifling present we were permitted to refresh ourselves with guavas, bananas, oranges, and figs. The general plan of the centre of the building, which is in tolerable preservation, is a suite of state rooms, with a lower story for the family to reside in. These join on to covered Piazzas, open to the North and South, and supported by handsomely carved wooden pillars of large dimensions; (28) on the East and West are two other suites of rooms, similar to the centre ones, except that they occupy the whole breadth of the building. A paved court with a large oblong basin, ornamented by several fountains, fronts the "Corps du logis," and the remains of a private Mosque, summer house, baths, and other structures, all more or less in a state of bad repair, extend to some distance round two sides of it, the third one being formed by the entrance gate of the Fort, which is also strengthened by a broad and deep wet ditch. Passing through the gate we noticed four women sitting on Persian Carpets with all their faces being completely covered by their *yashmaks*. (29) These ladies of the *zenana* were surrounded with every comfort, and with them were two pretty little girls with red and white complexions, black eyes and hair, Jewish features, and fine white teeth. Their ages were between ten and twelve. The women's faces we could not see; so it was supposed that they were far too beautiful to be looked at by an Infidel. We gave the girls each a liver pill, at which they were delighted, scrunching it up as if it was a sugar plum, and when finished asked us for more. In a few seconds a young man, who turned out to be a Nephew of Pekhali Khan, entered and with great politeness asked after our healths and brought us to the courtyard where trays with Russian china cups, with the Russian stamp on them, and filled with sweet tea, were handed round;



Old Mussulman tomb

also dried apricots and grapes.

It is a very curious, yet true, fact that the well-to-do Afghan buys and uses articles and implements for war, agriculture, commerce, or comfort, which are made in Russia, in preference to those from England or India, and news from Russia reaches an Afghan village with greater speed and accuracy than were it telegraphed to Simla. (30) This young man knew all about Russia, and of the Railway which the great white Czar is making to Kushk, and he spoke of a Russian invasion of India as a positive certainty as soon as the Kushk Railway was completed. (31) Russia, he said, had promised to assist the Amir with money in the meantime, and that £120,000 had already been received towards making preparations. This young man further said that his Uncle had been to Tashkend [Tashkent], had even made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had also seen service in the Turkish army in Asia Minor. (32)

He told me that the expression of Faith, or the orthodox profession of Faith, is --

"Laillah, ha illilla hoo Muhumuddur, Russoll ullah" (33)

"There is but one God and Mahomet is the Prophet of God." but that of the Wahabee Arabs, a modern sect who may be looked on as belonging to the Reformed Church of the Mahomedans, is --

"Laillah ha illilla hoo wadi hoola shuree Kudahoo." (34)

"There is but one God and he is without friend or equal."

and

That the Mahomedan lunar year contains but three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, while our year consists of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours and eleven minutes. Hence it follows that no year of the Hyra [Hijra] corresponds throughout to a given year of the Christian era, and of course, that not even the year of the latter can be ascertained from a date expressed in the former era, unless the day of the year be also given, except by substituting a year of the Christian era for one of the Hyra, as it is to be remembered that the latter era commenced on the 15th July AD 622. (35)

I noticed four field (8-pounder) guns which were mounted on serviceable gun carriages, and a few horses, saddled, were standing in the court, and ten picked ruffians, noted probably for their rascality, were loitering around when we rode away from the place. We were, however, pleased with the young Host as he was not only very polite in his manner, but he was exceedingly well read and appeared to have great influence among the tribesmen! The Khan must be a man of wealth. I noticed (besides the very handsome carpets and cushions) numerous handsome chandeliers, mirrors, and large pictures with frames, and the decorations reminded me very much of the interior of the Khedive's Palace at Alexandria as it was in 1876. There was, moreover, a full-sized portrait of the Czar of Russia, with an enormous gold crown, painted on the head, and studded with jewels. He appeared to be seated on a blue and gold sofa with a green back richly trimmed with gold embroidery and a green and gold curtain behind. There were also two life-sized portraits of Russian Officers in full uniforms, drawn swords, and covered with medals and decorations! Outside his Fort was a very old Mussulman tomb which we were told was probably built towards the year AD 1340, but owing to its good preservation I should put the date at AD 1600. But, as I found no inscription on it and had not time to make any inquiries, it is mere conjecture. It has, however, the curious kind of Pyramidical covering instead of a dome, and the style of the building is very massive!

Chapter Six

We had only left the Tomb about an hour when --



"Allah ō Akber

or

"God is Great."

the rain came in torrents, and we arrived in Camp wet to the skin, and [the rain] continued, though in a less degree, during the whole night and the following day, and prevented us leaving our 80 lb tent. We were, accordingly, obliged to amuse ourselves [by] looking over a very imperfect history of Persia and of Afghan hill life. An old Mounshie also called on us, and in consideration of a trifling present, translated a portion of a Persian **Tawarik** [history] which had been sent to us by our friend the Seyud, with a message that he would do himself the pleasure of calling on us next day. The Persian **Tawarik** proved to be little more than an abridgment of the reigns of the Persian Shahs and of the Bahminey Sultans, with several childish legends of the Life of Bundra Nawaz, and was probably compiled from the **Siraj-oot Tareekh Bahmany** by Moola Mahomed Lary, and the **Tohfut -oos-sulateen Bahmany**, both of which, he said, are now very rare works. (1)

From Jellalabad several Expeditions against the numerous hill Tribes had been sent out, and besides those which I have already described, there was another very tedious and difficult march made by General Macpherson's Brigade, who [which] had received orders to climb the Sia Koh to capture, if possible, an Afghan Chief named Asmutullah Khan who was disturbing the country by trying to persuade those Tribes to rise against us. (2) The Brigade had a long and fatiguing march over stony ground along a path unknown to anyone but their Guide, and without a single halt. During the night, the rear Guard with the baggage lost their way. The Soorkhab River had to be waded through! Cold and wet to the skin, the Brigade then climbed the Sia Koh. The path was over rocks and boulders, the Soldiers could only march in single file, and they arrived dead tired at the top only to find that Asmutullah Khan and his followers had bolted. They then had to slide down the Sia Koh and return to Jellalabad, after another ducking in recrossing the Soorkhab!

On the 31st March [1879], at 12 o'clock midnight, another Expedition was despatched under General Sir C.J.S. Gough from Jellalabad. (3) His force consisted of:

10th Hussars

H.M. 17th Regiment

Guides Cavalry

27th P.N.I.

I/C R.H.A. 4 guns

45th Sikhs

The Expedition Marched to Futtehabad (I have already described) to prevent the neighbouring Khugiani tribes from carrying out their threat of

attacking the place and neighbourhood for [their] remaining faithful to the British. This proved to be a very successful fight. The enemy occupied a range of hills which runs at right angles through Khaja to the Khugiani country, and along this range the enemy mustered in thousands. The General at once attacked and defeated them where they were in position behind their **sungahs** [**sungar**, see Chapt. 3, n. 14] which lined the top of the hill. They carried with them several Standards and made a rush down the plateau, and down a broad deep **nullah** towards the guns!

The noise from the firing, shouting, and tom-toms was tremendous, our guns retiring in alternate divisions, and firing rapidly at large masses of the enemy who continued their sudden rush, undeterred by the fire! At this time, the Infantry came up, who had doubled for fully three miles, and arrived in the nick of time to meet a large force of Khugianis who had moved down from the right of their position in the hope of cutting off the guns. These they drove back with the loss of Lieutenant N.C. Wiseman, (4) who seized a Standard after having killed the Bearer of it, by running him through the body with his sword, and [he] rushed with it into the middle of some three hundred Khugianis, followed by his Company of the 17th Regiment, and he was [thus] shot down and killed with knife cuts. Three of his Soldiers were killed here and four others were wounded, one of the latter receiving a severe bullet wound through the thigh, from which he never recovered. This Standard is a large red flag with yellow stripes, and round the edge, in white, is written an inscription in Arabic. The Standard is in the Officers' Mess. (5)

A Sergeant in the 17th received a bullet wound in the neck and hand. He was advancing at the charge with his sword bayonet fixed on his rifle, when a bullet struck the sword, being cut in two by it, as [and] a portion of the bullet wounded him in the hand, and the larger portion lodged in his neck. Another Sergeant was struck by a large stone on the left breast, which for a time disabled him, but soon recovering [from] the shock, he shot the man through the body. Several soldiers were likewise struck with stones; one got a severe wound, having his shoulder dislocated by a large stone thrown at him by a Khugiani who had already fired off his **juzzail**. An officer had a bullet strike and break his watch, and several others had many narrow escapes.

About this time a splendid charge was made by the Guides Cavalry on the left of the enemy's position, led by Major Wigram Battye. He received a knife wound during the charge, and was almost immediately afterwards shot dead, his horse being also killed at the same time. Lieutenant W.[R.]P. Hamilton, V.C., took command and pursued for upwards of three miles, inflicting great loss [see Chapt. 1, n. 68; n. 105; Chapt. 2, n. 37]. It was here that he was awarded the V.C. The number of casualties in the Guides Cavalry during the charge and pursuit amounted to one Officer, one Native Officer, and two Sowars killed, and four Native Officers and twenty-four Sowars wounded, besides five horses killed, and twenty-one wounded.

The 10th Hussars charged, under Lord Ralph Kerr, almost at the same time as the Guides, with a loss of one Sergeant and six troopers wounded, (6) and several horses killed and wounded. A troop of them were dismounted to dislodge the enemy from a deep **nullah**. Here Captain Manners Wood, who commanded the Troop, had a narrow "shave." (7) In skirmishing, he found himself opposite an armed Native who rushed at him. Unfortunately the revolver failed to do its duty, and he received a blow on the helmet with the Afghan's sword which knocked him down. The Afghan also, at the same time, lost his balance, and fell on the ground; but before the man could regain his feet he was brained by an Officer of the same Troop.

The Horse Artillery fired on the retreating foe wherever they appeared in numbers. The loss of [to] the Artillery was one man mortally wounded and two horses killed.

On the following morning a few Chiefs came into Camp to tender their submission, and notice was sent that unless the remainder did, the same hostilities with them would be resumed, and that a force would be marched into their territory. As by the evening of the 3rd [April 1879] no answer had been received, a Force comprising the 10th Hussars and Guides Cavalry, with 4 guns I/C, R.H.A., 2 guns de Lautour's Mountain battery, and H.M. 17th Regiment, 27th P.N.I., 45th Sikhs, with a Company of Sappers and Miners, paraded at 5.30 am, under General [C.J.S.] Gough. Each man, carrying one day's cooked rations and sixty rounds of ammunition in pouches (besides forty rounds reserve ammunition per man being carried on mules), marched to the Khugiani villages. Then [They] extend for miles into the hills and resemble very much those of Deh-Sarakh. The enemy could be distinctly seen in large masses under the low hills about five miles off, among the mulberry trees and orchards which are, in the valleys, scattered all over the country; but they made no attempt to advance to attack us. All the towers of five different villages were blown up in succession, and the troops returned, passing on the road many dead bodies, and the villages around Lungai where several wounded men were found. One of these was curiously wounded by a bayonet having gone through his left jaw and out at the right cheek. Two days afterwards the whole of the Khugiani Chiefs came in to Camp, and were forgiven. They informed us that the number of their killed and wounded exceeded six hundred. All the rifles, ~~juzzails~~, swords and knives were as usual given over to the Government for sale by those Soldiers who had secured such trophies, and several excellent rifles and blades were among the number collected. A Valuation Committee assembled to assess their value, and the amounts so assessed were handed over to the Soldier! A few of the best weapons were purchased by Officers; also, a handsomely bound Koran [was purchased], while the remainder were at once sent to the Arsenal at Peshawar.

My recollections of the steady firing and conduct of the British and Native Troops on all occasions may be shown and proved by this, out of several similar Orders which, when received, were always published to the Troops, viz. —

On the 21st April 1879 Brigadier-General Tytler V.C., C.B., published in Brigade Orders the following letter from the Quarter Master General in India, conveying the approbation of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief for the services rendered by the troops under the Br. General's command at Deh-Sarakh on the 24th ultimo.

No. 1424
a.

To the General Officer Comg.
Peshawur V. Field Force.
From Offg. Qr. Mr. General
Army Head Quarters.
15th April 1879

Sir

Having submitted to the Commander-in-Chief in India your letter No. 972 of 1st April 1879, covering the report of Brigadier Genl Tytler, VC, CB, of his operations against the Shinwarris of Deh Surruk [Sarakh] on the 24th March 1879, I am desired by his Excellency to request that his appreciation of the excellent service performed may be communicated to General Tytler and the Troops engaged; the careful and steady firing of the Infantry is much to be commended, while the brilliant Cavalry charge leaves nothing to be desired.

2. To the judicious handling of the Troops by Br. General Tytler may, His Excellency considers,

be attributed not only the success of the Expedition, but the trifling loss incurred.

(Sd) Chas Johnstone. (8)

Colonel.

Offg. Qr. Mr. General in India.

On the 22nd [April 1879] Sir Sam Browne also republished in Orders the remarks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the operations against Deh-Sarakh, and also against the Khugianis.

The remarks with regard to the latter were these!

His Excellency desires that Brigadier General Gough and troops engaged under him may be informed that it has afforded His Excellency much gratification to bring to the notice of the Government of India the admirable dispositions made by the Brigadier General and the gallant conduct of the troops.

I was told a very curious Legend of what had occurred on the Caubul River many years ago, just below the ford where the 10th Hussars lost one Officer and forty-six Troopers by drowning in the whirlpools and rapids [see Chapt. 1, n. 84]. The Legend of the Caubul River runs thus!

It is well known that the fords of the Caubul River, owing to the numerous Rapids, whirlpools, and sandbanks, are extremely intricate. Only one, I believe, is now deep enough to admit of large boats, or rather, it is only by the Barikab passage, where there are four fords and three sandbank Islands, that they can cross with safety to the other side of the River. Owing to this, and the lowness of the banks which are difficult to be seen till the voyager has actually come upon them, it becomes necessary to employ experienced Pilots, the best of whom are to be found at Barikab. These men, who are bred up to the Trade from their earliest youth, trust chiefly to soundings in piloting their vessels, though to impose on the credulous they often go through the form of examining the colour of the River, and tasting the mud brought up by the lead, before they will pronounce their certainty of being in the right channel. The largest sandbank Island is a great mark for them to go by, because there the waves of the rapids are very fierce, and they all, accordingly, are most particular in sounding there! Like all river boatmen, the Afghans are very superstitious, and the following is a Legend they often relate regarding this spot!

A Caubul boat of some size, it is stated, not many years ago went to Barikab to purchase grapes. One day the **Nakooda**, whilst looking about for a Cargo, was met by a respectable middle aged Mahomedan with a very remarkably long beard and bright eyes; this was in a Mosque. (9) The **Nakooda**, as he afterwards declared, observed this person all at once before him, but where he came from he could never tell! This startled him a little at first; but, thinking he might have been standing in some recess, [he] took no further notice of him, or of his curious circumstance. The Merchant, for such the gentleman soon stated himself to be, asked the **Nakooda** if he would agree to his hiring the boat to convey a cargo for him to a spot he would point out on the River, and at the same time

offered to give him an unusually handsome sum of money in remuneration for his trouble. The **Nakooda**, of course suspecting nothing from so fair spoken a Gentleman, quickly closed with his offer, and hastened joyfully to call his crew to carry the Merchant's things on board.

Two things struck him and his men as they were at work, and that was the dread the Merchant seemed to have of the sunshine, marked by the peculiar care with which he chose the shady side of the road, or River boat, and the colour of his beard, which was a very beautiful light green. The nature of his merchandise was also uncommon, the articles seeming more those which a rich man setting up house would buy than such as are usually selected for trade. There were a few bundles of grapes, some bags of rice, a dozen **duppahs** of ghee, (10) carpets, **hookahs**, and what not; in short, it was as near as possible what an American would call "a cargo of notions!" At length the last bale of goods was got on board, and the **buggarah**, hoisting her large and dirty latine [lateen] sail, glided swiftly down the broad and turbid river, impelled alike by the current and a steady breeze from the north whose coolness appeared highly agreeable to the Merchant. (11)

As usual when people have nothing else to do, the boatmen, as they reclined lazily on the little deck of the **buggarah**, commenced looking about them, and all eyes were soon rivetted on the Merchant's wonderful green beard, and the **Nakooda**, plucking up courage, ventured to remark that he had never seen anything so fine before; but [he] wondered why he had had it dyed a green colour when black or red was so preferable!

The Merchant only smiled, saying, it was the fashion of his Country! and the subject was dropped.

But to the **Nakooda's** question [as to] where he was to steer? the Merchant said —

"You are right! keep on as you are—"

Well, they had hardly reached the centre of the sandbank Island when the green-bearded man rose up, and looking over the side exclaimed!

"This is the place; down with your sail, my good man. Here is my house. Anchor to this sandbank Island!"

At the same time, like lightning, he cast out two anchors, untied the rope, lowered the sail, and sprang out with a rope!

The **Nakooda** and Crew were somewhat displeased with these summary proceedings of the Merchant, but their anger was quickly turned into fear when the elderly gentleman declared that they should not go an inch further, and that he and his cargo must remain there. Then the discovery was made that they had been cheated

into taking a "Gin," or Fairy, on board, and the severe look the gentleman with the green beard put on clearly showed he was accustomed to [being] and must be, obeyed. What could they do? He ordered them to throw one of [his] belongings into the river; so over went this thing, then that, and, whether heavy or light, it was sure to sink to the bottom. Fearing to displease the Gin, and thus bring ruin on themselves and families, they worked with such a will that the **Buggarah** was soon empty!

"This is well," said the Gin, "and now, friend **Nakooda**, come down with me, and I will pay you! As to you gentlemen, move away from this [place] at your peril!"

There was no necessity for a repetition of the Order! "for they (as they afterwards affirmed) would as soon have drunk wine and eaten pork as moved an inch!" Down went the Gin, and with him the unhappy and terrified **Nakooda**!

The fine things he saw under the Caubul River are endless: such palaces! (the **Nakooda** had never seen the London Gin palaces), (12) such lady Gins! such polite **Sharks**! &c., &c. But there is no room to insert them here. Suffice it to say that in half an hour, having visited all the wonders of the place, he popped up close to the **Buggarah**, was pulled in by the Crew, and displayed before their delighted eyes a bag of 1,000 pieces of unalloyed gold, brand new and shining. This was the Gins freight! But what was most surprising, say they, was that the **Nakooda's** clothes were perfectly dry and not even a hair of his head was wet.

This sandbank Island at Barikab is still shown, and all good Mahomedans who pass the spot (or wherever the Pilot pleases to say the home of the Gin is, for they vary very much in this respect) say a prayer or two, and take great care no dirt is thrown overboard, for fear of offending the gentleman with the green beard. Many Afghans fully believe this legend, saying it happened to such and such a person in the days of their grandfathers!

Of the above sandbank Island off Barikab, and of the Caubul River Rapids, I can speak with personal knowledge, the remembrance of which will last me throughout my life. It happened thus:

The 2nd Brigade, under Br. General Tytler, were crossing the River at Barikab [7 Feb. 1879] to attack the Mohmunds (as described on page 70). There were four fords, and as the River was so deep and swollen, it was found quite impossible for the Infantry to negotiate beyond the 3rd ford, which was this Sandbank Island. It was a very tedious and difficult business, and those who arrived at the Island first immediately got into position, and lay down so as to be ready to give the Mohmunds a warm reception should the Guides Cavalry (who had, with difficulty, swum their horses across the 4th ford) succeed in inducing the enemy to advance to attack us.

I was one of the first to reach the Island, and after having watched the Cavalry swim their horses across (many of whom were carried down by the rushing waters to some distance), and having admired them smartly form up and disappear behind a thicket, I turned my attention to the Infantry who were slowly wading towards us, and at the same time I commenced to devour some



Caboul River and Sandbank Island

chupattie sandwiches to try and keep out the cold. The negotiation of those fords was extremely dangerous work for Infantry, owing not only to the bright dazzling light on the River, but also to the fierce rush of the swollen waters, which carried along with it on its bed large rocks and stones. The Soldiers had to hold onto one another to preserve their balance; several Officers and Men very nearly lost their footing, and some rifles were lost by being dropped.

All of a sudden there was a loud shout when Private Bromley of the 17th Regiment lost his footing and was, in a second, turned over and over with his full marching order accoutrements and 60 rounds of ammunition in his pouch. He looked like a clown whom one sometimes sees advertised for a performance at the Empire Music Halls, or occasionally at a Circus, twirling around and forming an imitation of a Catherine Wheel. It was not a pleasant sight, for at one moment his head was seen, and the next instant only his feet.

As he was approaching, one of the Officers flung off his sword and jumped into the rushing water, seized him, lost his footing, and, clinging to the Soldier like grim death, found himself also completely at the mercy of the torrent. They were swept down together to certain death had it not been for Captain Peacocke of the Royal Engineers (13) (who happened to be some five hundred yards distant at the extreme end of the Sandbank) quickly seizing two tough and long Dhoolie poles. Lashing them together, [he] caused a number of men to wade into the river, holding on to the poles and each other, when the two men at the extreme end were fortunately just enabled to seize the two drowning men and, with the help of their comrades, dragged them both helpless on the bank.

It was rather a close shave, and when pulled out Private Bromley was unconscious. But on coming to after a short time, instead of seeing the "Gin," he saw another Fairy in the shape of the humane Doctor pouring neat brandy down his throat. Private Bromley was ill for some time after his near escape from drowning. He was invalided home and has become a prosperous butcher in the Midland Counties. Sometime after this memorable day (7th February 1879) there was a parade of troops at Gandamak. After being formed into square, the names of Private Mooney and Private Shanahan were called out, and they were each presented with a Testimonial inscribed on vellum for assisting to save Private Bromley from drowning in the Caubul River when he was swept off his legs by the strength of the current close to the head of a Rapid, and, fully accoutred as he was, must have been drowned, but for the prompt bravery displayed by his recuers, who were also in full marching Order.

The end of the story is that nobody had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the "green-bearded Gin" of the Caubul River. He in all probability saw the Troops crossing, and like a good Fairy, spared Private Bromley and others out of his clutches; but the old rascal took in exchange as a memento several rifles, a revolver and cartridges, watch & chain, diamond ring, gold locket, Field glasses, and flask. Private Shanahan only lived a few months to keep his well deserved honour of the Testimonial on vellum, as he died from Cholera, and Private Mooney was killed in the Khyber Pass.

The Afghan War was responsible for very many hardships to all who took part in it, whether Military or Civilian; it, however, hit very hard especially the Married Officers and Soldiers. The former had either to send his Wife and Children to England at his own expense, or [to] take a small, expensive house for them in some hill Station in the Himalayas. The Bachelor Officer merely returned to India to find that all his Uniform, clothes, saddlery, books, &c., &c., never mind how carefully they had been packed in boxes lined inside with tin, were all ruined and totally unfit for use.

The Married Soldier had, however, the most crushing bad luck of all; for instance, this case which I am about to give is in no way an exceptional one,

for every Regiment serving at the front had their own peculiar chances of witnessing the truth of the Helotes saying, viz.

"Virtue rejoices in trial"

On Saturday, the 7th September 1878, after the usual Kit Inspection, a smart Corporal of a British Regiment, named Gore, came to the Orderly room and desired to be brought in front of the Commanding Officer. This having been done, he saluted and said: (14)

"Please, Sir, I want to get married!"

"Very well Corporal," replied the Colonel, "but you must tell me who the person is whom you wish to marry, and all you know about her."

"I heard of her, Colonel, at the Girls Asylum, she is Mary S _____. So, wishing to marry, I went there, saw the Roman Catholic Priest, and he brought me to her in an inner room, and said to me, 'Corporal Gore, you are made for Mary S _____, and she is made for you.' The Priest then left us together for five or six minutes, when I promised to marry her, and I shall never be happy until I do so!"

Well, in the long run, before he left the Colonel's presence, permission to marry, and for his Wife to be placed on the strength of the Regiment, was given to him, and he having saluted, left the Orderly Room a happy man!

On the following day (Sunday, September 8th) the Banns were put up, and on Monday, 23rd September, the marriage between them took place, under very great rejoicings and enthusiasm. The Non-Commissioned Officers appeared in great numbers, some of the fine Band voluntarily played "Haste to the Wedding," and other very appropriate airs, and there was a very large Wedding Cake and several bottles of Whiskey afterwards inside the Corporals mess room.

That very evening a telegram was received by the Colonel, ordering the Battalion for Active Service in Afghanistan; but it was not until the 8th October that the Troops could get on the move, the delay being caused by the Transport Authorities not being equal to the occasion. Only the sick, the women, and children were left behind, and, of course, the Corporal was separated from his young Wife.

During his absence on Active Service in Afghanistan news was received in India that he had been killed, and she believed that this rumour must be true. One month after, she married a Non-Commissioned Officer of another Regiment, and when the Corporal returned, after having pulled through a most serious attack of Cholera, he found that she was hundreds of miles away, and moreover, in every way happy and contented with her lot. He, therefore, lost his young Wife, and obtained no redress whatever.

The above case was not the fault of the Woman, as there is an order that if the Widow of a Soldier is not re-married within a few months, she is struck off the Strength of the Regiment and sent to her Home in Great Britain and Ireland by a Troopship. Thomas Atkins does not, as a rule, much care about Military life in India; that is to say, as soon as the novelty has worn off. He much prefers serving comfortably at Home where, if he behaves himself, he can always obtain his comforts and every sort of amusement. But Mrs. Thomas Atkins' ideas are quite different. In Great Britain and Ireland she has often to put up with many discomforts, besides having to cook, sweep, and keep her room tidy, mind the young children, wash, &c., &c., while in India, she finds herself a "real lady," for she is allowed a servant (native) to cook, sweep, wash, &c., &c., and she has nothing whatever to do except give her orders. The Widow, therefore, does not see the joke of being sent back to her Home in England, and she remarries as soon as possible in India.

At Peshawar I even heard a Drum Major propose to a Colour Sergeant's Widow at the Grave. On this occasion the Funeral Service had been read, and the usual volleys of blank cartridge had been fired into the air; there were several women present who were all more or less sobbing and weeping, when all of a sudden the Widow, who was standing with her pocket handkerchief to her

face, gave a terrible scream and looked as if she might fall into the grave. The Drum Major at once supported her and said,

"Oh calm yourself, dear Mrs. B _____. Will you be mine?"

"I am so sorry," she replied. "I have already promised to marry the Sergeant Instructor in Musketry!"

The Troops formed up outside the Cemetery. The word of Command was given. The Band played a jovial air. The Party returned to their Barracks, and about a month afterwards the Widow Mrs. B _____ became Mrs. S.I. Musketry.

The Fort of Ali Musjid was, throughout the Afghan War, a place of refuge to the Europeans and Natives located in the outlying stations in the district, as it had obtained considerable renown, and it was well supplied with ordnance and guns which were mounted on all the bastions visible, and water there was plentiful. (15) The quantity of rain which falls during the year varies from forty-six to fifty inches. Every year shows an increase in the number of flowers grown by the Afghan women from the Khyber to Gandamak, and naturally the profits vary a little, because some are sold in both Jellalabad and Peshawar. The latter large City and Cantonments, purchase during the winter over six hundred tons of flowers and a very large amount of fruit! (16) It is, however, obvious that very little can be accomplished with the mineral wealth and products of Afghanistan until the Railway is made from Peshawar, either through the Khyber Pass to Jellalabad and Caubul, or by that shorter route through the Thibai pass, Pesh Bolak, and Caubul. The benefit of this Railway will be felt as much by the agriculturist as by those interested in the mineral wealth of the Country. The expenditure incurred in constructing it would be very small and the dividends paid must be enormous.

In every country except Afghanistan not a day passes without some new idea of mercantile, naval, or of military use, being exploited. Today it is a new railway, yesterday a new Torpedo, or tomorrow it may be a new death-giving gun. The spirit of enterprise has not as yet taken the trouble to visit this rich country of Afghanistan, and what is to be the end of this, our great mistake? That is a problem which only the future can solve. For ourselves, we must rectify it by annexing the whole country at once. (17) Nothing could be easier. We must go in and out as we please, with no control over our movements, as Russia cannot just yet attempt to detain us. Therefore, all we have to do is to at once construct our Railways, and if the British Government will not, why should not a City Syndicate do it, and sell within a few years at a fabulous price. It did not take Mr. Cecil Rhodes long to point out the advantages of the projected Railway from Cape to Cairo, and he had not only convinced the German Emperor, but he has also obtained his eager support, and I am sure we shall all rejoice in the success of the arrangements which have been entered into. (18)

Chapter Seven

I commence this Chapter with a bird's-eye view of the Inspection of the Troops at Jellalabad on the 29th March [1879], outside the famous City, shewing Peshawar entrance, Piper's hill, & Pesh Bolak, as I do not think that it gives an indifferent idea of a portion of the City and Neighbourhood, both of which I have already attempted to describe. I will now give a short Memo on the shooting which can be obtained in Afghanistan, by any one who does not mind running the risk of being himself potted at by an unseen enemy.

The shooting is very fair, though for four legged game such as tigers and sambhur it is necessary to cross the Caubul River; (1) but in the neighbourhood of Pesh Bolak and the hills, the following wild animals and birds are to be found and are generally hunted by the Afghans and Hill Tibes!

Hill leopard (snow); panther.
Wolf.
Fox (small and greyish).
Silver Fox (quite gray).
Hyena, Civet Cat (bite can snap
off legs of a
dog).

Jackal, and wild Dog.
Hare (much smaller than in Europe).
Black Bear (ant eater).
Brown Bear (or red).
Porcupine, and Monkeys.
Mongoose (large red), Wildcat (dun).
Antelope and ravine deer.
Oorial, & Ibex.
bats and flying foxes.

Bustard.
Oubarah.
Florikin (a beautiful bird).
Wild Duck (various).
Painted and grey Partridges

Quail (grey and dark).
Snipe.
Sandgrouse.
Blue rock pigeon.
Hawks (various).
Wild geese. do.
Wild swans.
The Cyrus.
Byree (hawk) will attack the
Cyrus.

The hill leopard is often killed, and the skin is a beautiful one, and is very much prized, and I am told that a royal Tiger has occasionally been seen in the Bazar Valley and in the vicinity of the Deh-Sarakh villages. The wolf is much smaller than those of Europe, and though they attack sheep, [they] do not as a rule meddle with cattle, or Men. I have never seen the wild boar in Afghanistan, and I do not believe that he exists in the country, or else I would have mentioned him before the Wolf. (2)

Wolves almost always hunt in couples, and go at a long hand gallop; so it is very difficult to ride them down unless [they are] gorged. The fox is much smaller than in England and has not so much scent. The Hyena is an ugly and cowardly animal. When hunted it canters along at a good pace, its hind legs and hind quarters seeming too weak to support its body. Jackals are pretty common; they live on carrion, or small animals. The hares are small, but numerous; they afford good coursing with Persian Greyhounds, which are brought to Afghanistan from Bushire. There are many black bears, especially in the low hills in the Khugiani territory. [They occur] also on the other [north] side of the [Kabul] River, around and beyond Kunar, where also the

brown, or red, bears are to be seen. (3) The black bears are of a species called "Anteaters," and attain a considerable size; they live on wild fruits and roots. I much doubt if they would eat flesh. The brown bear is vicious and far more dangerous!

The Porcupine is generally to be found in a nullah near a fruit garden. The large red mongoose inhabits old ruins and preys on poultry and snakes.

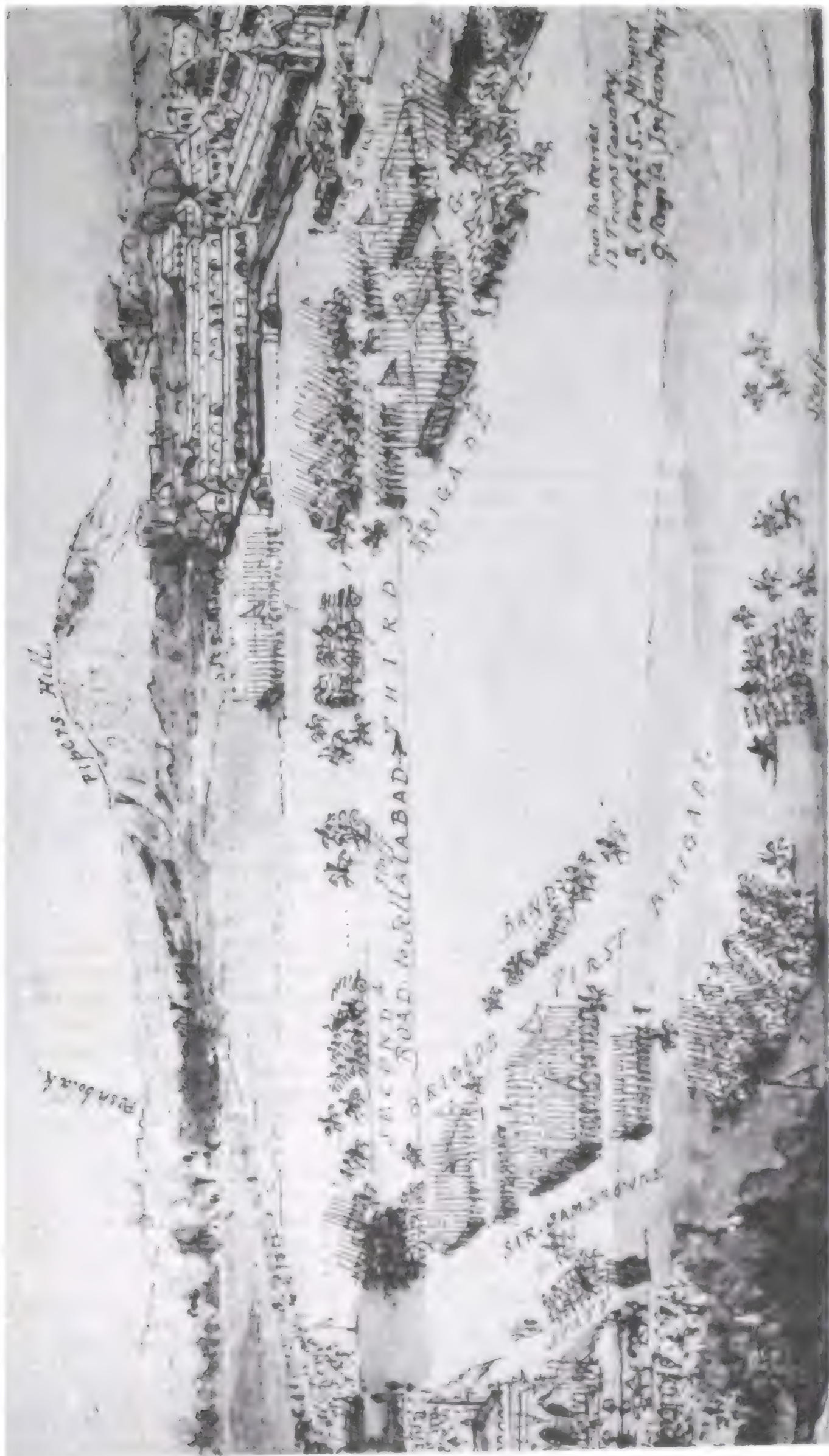
The badger is a dirty looking creature, making burrows near Mahomedan cemeteries. They are accused of feeding on dead bodies, but with what justice I know not. (4)

Amongst Game birds, the Bustard is the largest, and is good eating. They have a horny spike, or spur, at the end of the first joint of the wing [with] which they fight like gamecocks. The male bird has a note which is not unlike the bark of a dog. The Oubarah are to be found in large numbers; they become very stupid very early in the morning, and lie down when suddenly disturbed. I have seen a Soldier kill two Oubarah with his stick. They are delicious eating! The Cyrus is a large bluish slate-coloured crane, and Florikin are most certainly the finest game bird of Afghanistan, with very beautiful plumage. Nothing particular can be said about the wild geese, wild duck, teal, and Partridge, except that they are of various species and are to be found in great numbers. The rock pigeon, called by the French in Algiers "the desert partridge," is a pretty bird, marked with brown and yellow, and rather like a grouse. Quail are extremely plentiful, and a good shot will at times bring in sixty brace in the day. Snipe are small, and have, as I have previously said, a peculiar muddy flavour!

The Afghan, like the Persian, is a "connoisseur" in Cats, to which he is particularly partial; and in fact (besides the horse), it is the only animal he is really fond of. I have often wondered how he would laugh at the miserable specimens of Persian Cats which are exhibited under that name, and obtain prizes as such, at our numerous Cat shows! Should these Cats be sent to Persia, or Afghanistan, and exhibited there, they would not fetch even sixpence, while a "pure Persian" would not be sold under fifteen shillings at least. A Judge of a Persian Cat should know that a pure Persian is not judged by the length and beauty of the hair; but a pure Persian Cat must have its right eye of an entirely different colour to its left eye, and unless the eyes are of different colour, it belongs to the commonest of breeds. (5)

All Regiments in India keep a large number of wild animals as pets. When the war broke out in Afghanistan my late Regiment alone owned nine black bears, which they used to teach to perform all kinds of tricks. I was a part owner of a magnificent large brown red bear which had been given to a Brother Officer and myself by Colonel Thellwal [Thelwall] commanding 21st Punjab Native Infantry, on his leaving India for England. (6) This bear had been taught to perform a great number of tricks, and the bear was always delighted to show off. The Soldiers were extremely fond of him, and they used to wrestle and play with him all day. He was always well behaved, never lost his temper and he enjoyed perfect health! On leaving for the War, we presented him to the Lahore Zoological Gardens, provided they send a cart with six men to Kuldunna, Murree hills, to fetch him away. This they did at once, and I last saw poor Bruin chained up firmly inside the cart. This could not have improved his temper as he was always accustomed, when on the march, to accompany the baggage, with his chain being only held by a single Soldier.

At other times I was the happy possessor of a bull Nylghaw, (7) a female Samboo, several black buck, and a Hyena, all of whom were obtained when quite young and became very affectionate. They used to run about the compound loose, and would follow. It was a very curious fact that they all hated a black man, but they would allow my Batman to do what he chose with them. The Hyena even became great friends of four fine Scotch Deer hounds (their Mother was of Kangaroo breed) and he used to delight in hunting with them. (8) On



Inspection of the Troops at Jellalabad on the 29th March

leaving India, I handed over the hounds to one of the best Sporting men in India — the Maharajah of Kuch Behar. In Chungla Gullie, Himalayas, I caught a Silver fox in a trap I had laid for a hill leopard who had been committing depredations in the vicinity. The little fellow was only about two months old and very vicious. He was fed on **chupatties** and milk, and soon became wonderfully docile, and I would chain him up, or let him loose, as I felt inclined. He hated my Native Servants and bit my Bearer severely, in the Verandah one morning when he was bringing my Parade boots to me.

On leaving, I gave him a fowl to kill, and then tried to frighten him away; but without result, until my Servants (who hated him) yelled with all their might and threw stones at him, when he disappeared into the woods with the dead chicken in his mouth!

At one time two of the Officers owned young Tigers, which they obtained as young cubs of about a week old. They were fed on milk and **chupatties**. One of them, which belonged to Captain E.R. Scott, grew to a large size before he [Scott] had to dispose of him, by order of the General. The last time I saw this tiger he stood up and placed his paws on my shoulders, looking down on me in that position. The reason of the order for his removal was [because] he stalked one morning some Officers' Children who were taking their morning walk along the road with the Ayah, and of course frightened them all! This Tiger was always chained up at night, but was allowed to run loose in the house and compound during the day. He was quite domesticated and amiable; his chief delight was in playing with, and stalking, dogs, but he had never tasted blood, which probably accounts for his docility.

Another pet which we had in the Station was a very fine tame leopard belonging to the Police Officer of the District. This animal would follow him all over his large compound, and appeared to be completely under control. One morning, however, when his master was away on duty, he broke loose and paid a visit to the nearest neighbour's house, walked into the drawing room and comfortably stretched himself amid the soft cushions on the sofa, and went to sleep! On returning from her morning ride, the Lady of the house entered her drawing-room, gave a shriek and fainted. An order came from the General that this leopard was at once to be disposed of, or killed; so the poor brute was shot, as there was not time to arrange the former!

I have endeavoured, in an unskilled way, to show a little of the scenery of Afghanistan, which may be considered a very difficult thing for an Officer on Active Service to attempt to do, because he has his military duties to perform, and has, in fact, very little leisure to study carefully the curious manners and customs, the scenery, or the reason why this or that movement is made. It is only because other men, who are far more capable than myself, have not as yet produced for the Empire these few sketches which have struck me as being adapted to show some few of the manners and customs of the Afghans, that I have been induced to publish what I have done!

An officer has to obey orders, and go wherever he is directed. The whole management of the Campaign rests with the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, with the Generals and Political Officers carrying out their Orders as far as they are able, and advising them on unforeseen events. Consequently, the only men who can really do justice to the operations and episodes of a War are our talented War Correspondents; these are, however, also in their turn handicapped, especially in a country like Afghanistan, for they cannot ask the General for a dozen men as a guard to enable them to make such and such a Sketch for a newspaper in England, or to help them to endeavour to investigate this or that Custom, or town, tumulus, or tomb, which may have been brought to their notice. (9) Consequently, perhaps, the Officer, after all, has the best of it, for he can delay his men occasionally at a nice convenient spot where he may have a fair chance of seeing what the country really is [like], for either attack or defence, and of making his notes upon it.

In Afghanistan the British Infantry Soldier was quite as much handicapped as regards boots as he appears to have been in the late War described so graphically in Mr. G.W. Steevens' book *With Kitchener to Khartum*, page 70. He says: "'Somebody ought to be hanged.' So says everybody. 'But nobody ever is hanged'." with a note 1. at the bottom. (10)

The boots of the British Soldier in India are always bad. Why? [it] may be asked. The answer which can be given, even by the War Office, only requires one word, and that is --

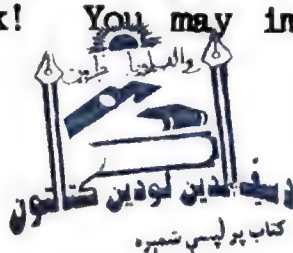
"Perquisites"

Why are there so many complaints in India on the "meat, bread, vegetables, clothing and boots?"

The answer is -- "Perquisites" -- which would probably mean, in Egypt, "Knavery!"

I have seen a Sergeant with a Wife, daughter (aged 16), and four other Children, suddenly promoted in India to the rank of Quarter Master Sergeant. He had previously nothing whatever except his pay as a Sergeant, and had absolutely no money in the Savings Bank! You may imagine my surprise on returning from leave to find that:

The Qr Mr Sergeant owned a horse,
Mrs. Qr Mr Sergeant owned a cob,
Miss Qr Mr Sergeant owned her cob,



and the "turn out" as regards saddlery, riding habits, &c., was quite as neat as that of any Lady in the Station!

I have quite neglected to mention the Afghan Monkey. We saw a lot of them on the summit of the Sissobi Pass during the 2nd Bazar Valley Expedition (page 67). The Rear Guard had halted, partly to reload the tired out camels, and partly to regain breath, when they suddenly appeared in their hundreds. The men threw some biscuits to them, and great numbers of these amusing creatures scrambled for, and ate them. They entertained us much with their gambols, especially the young ones who seemed to delight in teasing their seniors, using their tails as a rope to climb and swing by, or hopping on their backs and heads. These pranks the lady monkeys bear very patiently; but the old gentlemen are not near so good natured, giving the unfortunate culprits, whenever they are so unlucky as to get within their reach, a sound box on the ear, or a pinch of the tail. Once or twice, when the crime was very great, the poor wretch was seized by the hair of his head, held out at arms length, and allowed to drop to the regions below, from which he had to climb up again in the best way he could. All the time the punishment was being carried into effect the sufferer screamed out most lustily, and when over, [it] kept grumbling and complaining till an opportunity for revenge offered itself. I could not help remarking that the executioner never once lost his countenance, and invariably behaved himself with all the gravity and decorum of a "père de famille." Big males are dreadful bullies; females carry their young clinging to their breast!

The orthodox Mahomedans in Afghanistan say there is a bridge to Paradise, called *Al Sirat*, laid over the midst of hell, and describe it to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword! (11) The sect of the *Motazalites* reject this as a fable. (12) They also believe that there are 7 hells, the names of which are as follows. The first, which they call *Jehannum*, will be the receptacle of wicked Mahomedans; the second is named *Ladha* and is assigned to the Jews; the third, named *Al Hotama* to the Christians; the fourth, called *Al Sair*, to the Sabians; the fifth, named *Sakar*, to the Magians; the sixth, named *Al Jahin*, to the idolaters; the seventh, which is the lowest and worse of all, [and] is called *Al Hawyat*, to the Hypocrites; and he who is punished most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire which will cause his skull to boil like a cauldron. (13)

The names which the Afghans usually give to Paradise are: **Al Jamrat**, or the Garden; sometimes they add **Jamrat al Ferdaws**, or the Garden of Paradise, **Jamrat Adan**, or the garden of Eden, **Jamrat al Mawa**, the garden of Abode; **Jamrat al Masin**, the garden of Pleasure. (14)

All the reputed descendants of Ali and Fatima are styled **Shereefs**, or **Seyuds**, in Arabia; **Emirs** in Syria and Turkey; **Seyuds** in Africa, Persia, Afghanistan, and India. But, in Afghanistan, the title of **Shereef** is applied to the descendants of Mahomed who are of the Military profession; that of **Seyud** to those who engage in commerce; but sometimes **Shereef** means the descendent of Hussein and **Seyud** that of Hassan. (15)

The Shei-ites or Sheeas, call themselves Adli-ites (another name given to the Sheeas, or other schismatics, by the Soonies is **Rafzi**, or Heretics). (16) It is a remarkable thing that the name by which Mahomed designates Our Saviour Jesus Christ (**Al Hawariyan**) is not Arabic, but Ethiopic, which [fact] strongly supports the very just suspicion that he [Mohammad] was assisted, at least in the composition of that part of the **Koran**, by a foreigner, either of that, or some other Christian, or Jewish, nation, who was acquainted with both the canonical and apocryphal Scriptures! (17)

It would appear, by a Memorandum written in Persian and Pushtoo, that the following Persian books, &c., formed part of the library of the Madressa, or College, at Caubul in 1878.

- Historical — **Shah Nama**, by Ferdousee. Historian of Persia. (18)
- " **Nozut-oss-Sufa**, by Meer Khoond.
- Historical (continued) -- **Habeeb-oss-Sur**, by Meer Khoond.
- " **Shah Ubas Namu**, by Meer Khoond.
- " **Life of Nadi Shah**, by Mirza Mihdee.
- Metaphysics -- **Ukhlagi Nasiree**, by Nusur oodDeen Toosee.
(The ground work is taken from Plato and Aristotle.)
- Moral — **Goolistan**, **Boostan**, and **Pund Namu**, all by Sadee.
- Poetry -- **The loves of Yaosoof and Zuleekha**, by Jamee.
- " **Ghuzls** ode of Hafiz, including Lylee and Miynoon.
- " (works of Mooktushum).
- " Works of Rugeeb.
- " **Musnuwee**, Epic poem on the pleasures of Spring, by
Mirza Mihr Nuseer.
- " Ditto — by Nizamee.
- History — **Of the Mahomedan Princes of India**, by Mahomed Kasim
Ferishtoo.
- " **Ayeen Akbeny**, by Abul Fazil, besides
- " **Akbernámeh**, by Do.
- Tales -- **Tawarikh i Dekin**.
- " **Bagh-u Bahar** (tale of the four Dervishes.)
- Geography -- **Muntak hab ut Hindie**.
- Tales (comic) — **Tata Kahanie** (tales of the Parrot.)
- History (by inferior authors to Ferishta).
- " **Kholasat ut Tawàrikh**, by Khafi Khan.
- " **Muntakhab ut Tawàrikh**, by Abdul Kabir of Badáun
(a history of the Mahomedan Kings of India).
- Religion -- **Tooret and Injeel**. (copy in Arabic Kufik character).
- " **Al Koran**. (Arabic).
- " part of the Vedas. --- Sanscrit.
- " **Laws of Menu**. --- do.
- Book of useful Trades. (English).
- Moles' Geography and book of Maps. do.
- Tavernier. Paris 1681 (French).
- Voyages de Fernand, Mender Pinto 1537 to 57.
- Voyages du St. Jean Albert de Mandelslo Paris 1679.

In Jellalabad I saw my friend Seyud [Ameen Moola] Imayut Ulla for the last time before leaving Afghanistan for India. He spent the evening with me and remained talking and translating a Persian Book to me till 11 pm. Our conversation was about Afghanistan, and he surprised me with some very curious sayings which I could hardly credit at the time, but which I now feel convinced are true facts. But not being a Member of Parliament, or in the Foreign Office, or a Consul in Persia (we dare not keep a European Consul in Afghanistan), it is impossible for me to even endeavour to investigate the following. (19)

"You imagine," said the Seyud, "that we have no slaves in Afghanistan?"

"Yes," I replied. "Slavery, not only in Persia, but also in Afghanistan was done away with years ago!"

The Seyud laughed and said:

I know a Noble in Caubul who has 52 Male and 11 Female Slaves, and I own 14 of the former and 5 of the latter! How are we to guard our houses against a sudden attack without Slaves, and how are we to have the house work done? Of course, we often obtain them by employing men to make a sudden raid on our Frontiers, when Men, Women, and children are caught, sold, and reported dead. The last lot that I purchased was [at] eighteen miles from Bushire [on the Persian Gulf], where you have a Consul. There is a slave market there where there are several men, women, boys, and girls exposed; they are all Africans from the Somali coast, and their prices are very low! A fine young woman of sixteen or eighteen years of age would only sell for four pounds, and the price of the handsomest girls, varying in age from sixteen to twenty, [is] rarely more than six pounds, whilst the strongest and most promising young men sometimes cost as much as £20, and even £35. For a little boy of eight or ten years of age, no more than £3 would be given, or demanded, and a little girl of that age, if good looking, would be about the same price.

He informed me that as many as four thousand Slaves are sold during the year, about half of whom are sold quietly at this place, and those that are not sold are brought to Muskat. On arriving there, they enter the town during the evening in batches of six or seven at a time, and are sold inside a large building. These slaves are easily procured for little, or nothing, as there are Agents at places all along the coast, and when it is remembered [that] they work their passages, serving as servants on board these large Arab vessels, it is not astonishing that they are so cheap. (20)

Although the above is without doubt a great evil, still is it not like that of the [former] Slave trade at Home? These poor people are treated, during the voyage, and after, more like servants than bondsmen; they are never chained or confined, but live on board, eat and sleep with their Masters, and on shore, after being made Mahomedans, become one of the family. The fate of the Women and Girls is perhaps the hardest as they are only married in after [later] life to the black slaves; their morals are accordingly at a very low ebb. Some of them even go about with their faces uncovered, which is looked on as a most immodest thing by the Musulmans. They, however, are (the Seyud said) always in excellent spirits, and do not

seem to care two straws about being exposed like cattle to the highest bidder, and seemed to consider it a matter of course for him [a prospective male buyer], and numerous others to look at them. As soon as one of them is sold, and paid for, he, or she, gets up, and follows the purchaser.

That evening I walked with the Seyud to the house he hired in Jellalabad. It was a large one, and contained numerous European books, pictures, and maps. After offering me coffee, which I accepted from a powerful-looking black African of about twenty-six years of age, he ordered the Negro to tell [the] **Dirgie** [servant] to bring brandy, cigars, and fruit!

He had purchased the African in Muskat in 1876, for £22. "And now," he said, "you will see my female slave. Her price was £4.5s." In a few minutes a woman with her face hidden by a black mask appeared, carrying a large dish full of "Loquats." This mask covered the forehead, came in a band down the bridge of the nose, and concealed the whole of the mouth and lower part of the face. It was made of black silk and had an edging of gold paper, but altogether I thought it the most hideous thing imaginable. (21)

She retired and returned with two silver goblets and a bottle of brandy. The Seyud then told her to show her face, which she at once did, and I saw a smiling black face with the usual African features as regards nose and mouth, fine black eyes and splendid teeth. She again left the apartment, and returned with some cool water and cigars, and, having placed them all close to our cushions, she squatted herself down in a corner to be ready to bring anything else that her Master might require. Shortly afterwards I was astonished to see quite a gigantic Slave enter with a letter. He was a **Seedee** (a person with African blood in his veins) and must have been quite 6 ft 8 in. standing on his bare feet. (22) It is a very striking thing in Jellalabad to see so many African men and women in the place, and should they continue to increase in numbers, the Afghans will find out that in addition to an English and a Russian policy they will have an African population to settle! (23)

The Mahomedan, or Afghan, Law (such as it is) is founded on the **Koran**, and is very voluminous, and during the last four years of the reign of Shere Ali the **Gizya**, or capitation, tax on Infidels, viz. Hindoos, was abolished. (24)

I. Justice is administered by a Court, composed of an Officer named **Mer i Adl**, Lord Justice, and a **Cazi**; the latter conducts the trial and states the Law, the other passes judgment! (25)

II. The Police of large towns are under an Officer called **Kotwal**; in smaller places under the local Authorities. (26) These people add to the law founded on the **Koran** whenever they find it to their own advantage to do so, by inventing several local customs, which from long use become generally binding.

I. According to Afghan Law, whoever administers Justice is entitled to 5 per cent on all debts admitted by defendants, and 10 per cent on all debts denied, and afterwards proved.

II. Witnesses are to be examined in open Court in presence of both parties.

III. If there are no Witnesses, the Judge may admit the oaths of the parties concerned.

IV. Persons having a pecuniary interest in the case, infamous persons, menial servants, familiar friends, are not to give evidence without the permission of the Judge.

V. Mutilation, chiefly of the right hand, ear, and nose, is among the usual punishments allowed in the Afghan Code.

VI. Forging Royal Edicts, adhering to the King's enemies, and slaying **Moolas** are capital offences.

VII. Adultery for a Woman may be punished by the Husband, by either

1. putting her to death, (27) cutting off her nose, depriving her of the eyes;
2. tying her naked on the back of an ass, mule, or bullock, which is [then] led through the streets, and corporal punishment (public);
3. [or] by beating her, or if she is rich, by fine (10 per cent to the Judge).

VIII. Selling bad grain for good incurs severe corporal punishment, in addition to a heavy fine (10 per cent to the Judge).

IX. Theft [is punished] by mutilation of hand, or fine (10 per cent to the Judge).

X. Assaults [are punished] by fine (10 per cent to the Judge).

XI. False evidence [is punished] by fine. do. do.

XII. Debt on Loans is to be charged from 2 to 8 per cent, according to the decision of the Judge; but if a pledge is left in deposit, the interest is reduced one [by] half.

XIII. "Quick" and "cheap" justice is very important, even at the expense of some irregularities. A murderer might be blinded and condemned to labour for life, if the Judge so willed it, or he might be released on payment of a fine by himself, or friends (10 per cent to the Judge, and the remainder to the dead man's Relations)!

XIV. Prisoners must labour to support themselves so as to be of no expense to the Community.

XV. All Bankers, or Shroffs, who carry out money transactions for the Amir must be carefully watched, as they are extremely grasping, very clever, and exact enormous interest. The only way to deal with them, in order to make it their interest to be honest, is by reporting them to the Amir, meanwhile keeping their families in your power as a guarantee until the Amir's pleasure is recorded. The **Cazis**, the **Kotwal**, and the Afghans should always look after them!

XVI. Afghans of all ranks who are anxious to make investments in foreign countries should not be permitted [to do so]. The penalty for so doing is 50 per cent to the Amir, 10 per cent to the **Mer i Adl**, and 5 per cent to the **Cazi**.

XVII. On failure of male issue, a Son may be adopted; but he loses all claim to his original father's property.

Such are the principal heads of Aghan law! The Afghans have no method of counting time with any degree of exactness, for the day is divided by them into three spaces:

1. from sunrise to noon. 2. from noon to 3 o'clock. 3. from that time to sunset. The **Moozen** [**muezzin**], or **Moola**, acquaints the people from the Mosque that it is noon, and generally guesses when the sun has crossed the meridian by the shadow passing a certain spot. (28) They compute their time by lunar months, and instead of reckoning their days from noon to noon, or, according to the vulgar method, from midnight to midnight, they count it from sunset to sunset, so that our Thursday night is with them Friday night. (29) Their almanacs are full of predictions of lucky and unlucky hours; but otherwise they are correct.

I had lost my watch in the Caubul River [probably 7 Feb. 1879], so it was quite 10 pm when I rose to say Good-bye; but he [the Seyud] insisted on my eating some dried peaches which his girl had brought, and he then accompanied me through the City, where the Coffee rooms and Cook shops were still open. We went into one of the Coffee rooms where I got two most excellent cups of Cafe noir. There were numbers of Afghans and Persians seated about, smoking and sipping coffee, (30) but none of them said anything to me. In fact, the behaviour of the people in the bazaars and these places

was much better than what I have met with from people of the same class at night time in Peshawar, or other Indian Cities. There was no crowding or staring, but great politeness. Most of them spoke to the Seyud, who told them that I was his Guest.

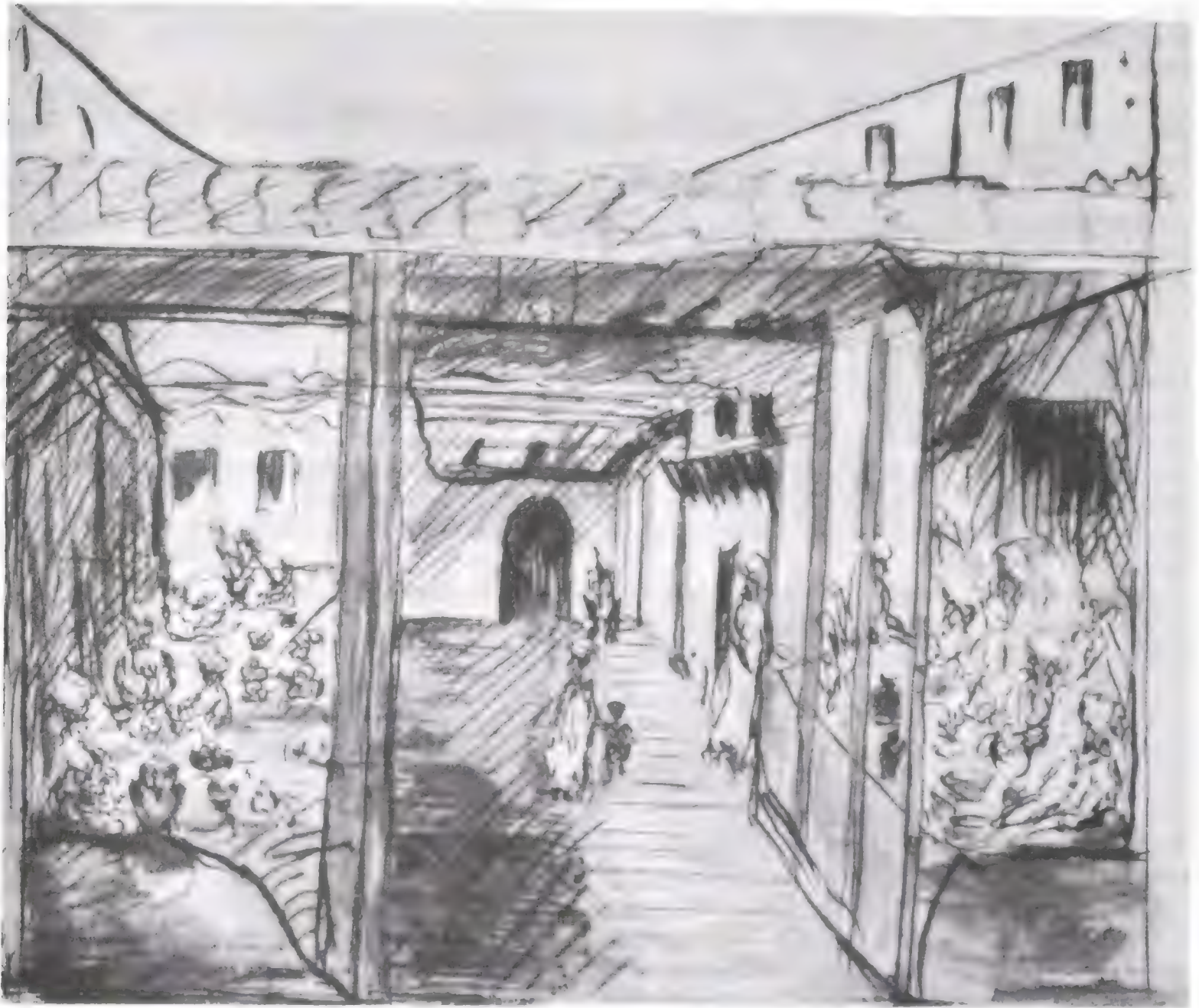
I must not omit to mention a sect of Christians who live at Jellalabad, and whom I am told also are to be found in Caubul. They are called the "Saluans, or Christians of St. John," but their proper name is "Subbees" (not Sabians). (31) One of their peculiarities is that they have no Sacrament, [or] Churches, and their Service is performed in a common enclosure, and on very few occasions. They are also very particular not to eat anything which has not been purified with water. Their high Priest happened to be inside the coffee room, and the Seyud introduced me to him. He was dressed exactly like an Afghan, and he was very polite to me. As far as I could understand him, they are only semi Christians. One of the peculiarities of their Belief being that St. John the Baptist was the third person of the Trinity! Their practise is to baptise several times a year; this is done by immersion of the whole body. Some even carry it so far as to do it daily. They say [that] by so doing, and [through] repentance, the whole of their sins are washed away. They have a Gospel of their own which they declare was, up to the death of St. John the Baptist, written by himself; the rest is said to differ very little from the Armenian Copies. (32)

There is also another sect of Christians in Asia who are, curiously enough, never heard of in England, although they are to be seen and heard of along the coast of Malabar. I will now describe [them], as our Bishops of Bombay have, I believe, quite forgotten to mention them in their various reports (as far as I know). Anyhow, their communications, if they have made any regarding these people, have hitherto been withheld from the British Public! (33) Anyhow, one may well inquire: "What are our Bishops, Clergymen and Missionaries about?"

Malabar Christian!

At a very early period the Christian Religion made a very considerable progress on the Malabar Coast, which contains, in proportion, more persons professing that belief than any other province in India. In the Creeds and doctrines of the genuine Malabar Christians, considerable evidence exists of their being a primitive Church. The supremacy of the Pope is denied, the doctrine of transubstantiation has never been maintained by them, and they have always regarded, and still regard, the worship of images as idolatrous, and the existence of Purgatory [as] fabulous. In addition to these circumstances, they never acknowledged extreme unction, marriage, or confirmation, to be Sacraments, all of which facts may be substantiated by reference to the Acts of the Synod established at Diamper by Don Alexis de Moullis, Archbishop of Goa, in the year 1599; (34) also in a book published at Amsterdam, named *Histoire du Christianism[e] dans les Indes*. (35) I am sorry to say that the Christian Religion has made little progress since this fertile province on the west coast of Southern Hindoostan, situated between those of Cochin and Canara, became British territory in 1792. Even in 1840 there were forty-four Churches belonging to the Nestorian Community of 120,000 souls, while previous to the arrival [1498] of Vasco de [da] Gama, they were computed at 200,000. Now, even with the increase of the population, and the extraordinary sums of money spent on our Missionaries, the Protestant Religion has, I believe, made no headway whatever. (36)

On leaving the Coffee room, the Seyud insisted on showing me the way they paint cloths in Afghanistan, so he brought me to a Shop in the Chief Bazaar, the interior of which was well lighted up. On our entering we found ten Afghans busily at work giving new and permanent colours to cloth. The paint, which is mixed with a kind of oil, is laid on it in diverse patterns



Centre Covered Bazaar, Jellalabad

and dries very quickly. It is put on by means of a steel instrument; the colours are held in the palm of the workman's hand, and it is surprising how regularly, from constant practice, they can follow a pattern. (37) Some of the men were also working on silk; in this difficult operation one ounce of cochineal was being used to half a pound weight of silk, and to give it a permanent colour liquid saline and salt was prepared, mixed up with the oil and paint, in which tartar was also made use of [as a mordant], to give the dye a brighter colour. There were four inner rooms and some underground rooms which I did not visit; but I was told that the process of boiling in large vats, and drying [dyeing ?], was being carried out. In a corner I noticed a large heap of leaves of the "Anil" plant which is used for giving the shade of blue, [and] which is prepared with salts and oil. (38) I had not time to inquire into the Afghan method of dyeing cloths and silks the colours of blue, green, red, and yellow, and to investigate properly their system of painting on them when dyed; but it is a fact that their dyes last for years

when ours in England and France soon lose the brightness of the colour. We should go to them to be taught dyeing. Bigotry in the art of dyeing is one of the besetting sins of our nature, for men whose studies are too much confined to one branch of knowledge are often inclined to overrate themselves, and so become narrow-minded. The workmen were all blacks, imported from Africa, and they are told off to work all day and night! Every Afghan sports a large **hookah** in his shop, which he constantly smokes, even when weighing out to his customers, or whilst working. These long rows of **hookahs**, with their long pipes, in the Bazaar have a strange effect, especially as the bottoms are made of a red kind of pottery.

The Seyud insisted on seeing me to my tent. There is a small stream, called the Nara, which is a tributary to the Caubul River, and the **Bund** across it is a curious piece of workmanship, and is constructed yearly by the inhabitants of the country round about. (39) It is made solely of brushwood (Wild Cypress or Tamarisk) and small layers of earth or sand; the branches are all turned towards the head of the stream; its base may be perhaps 20 feet [wide], and its height 15 feet, and though the material seems slight, it effectually answers the purpose required, as but little water escapes through it. The banks of the stream above the **bund** present a highly interesting scene. Numbers of Persian wheels, each worked by bullocks, are erected close to the water's edge, and numbers of watercourses, fields of magnificent **Jawarree** [Chapt. 4, n. 8], sugar cane, mango, and other fruit trees show that the female inhabitants are industrious. On the Nara were several small boats belonging to fishermen who catch small but delicately tasted fish. (40) The **Jawarree** is procurable in large quantities, and the price is only 1 rupee for 40 **seers**. (41)

On arriving at my tent the Seyud accepted a present from me of ten rupees which appeared to give him great satisfaction, and on his taking his leave of me, he waved the end of his turban over my head, saying in Persian: "I am but a **Puckeer**, but may you be victorious!!" (42) A box of French Lucifers which I gave him delighted him. He said there would be no longer any necessity for his carrying a light for his matchlock now, as he could always kindle one in an instant.

He had scarcely gone when a Mr. Mitford, who was travelling for amusement, paid me a visit. He informed me that he had just come from Herat, and had passed through Persia, from Bagdad, in perfect safety. (43) He was very much interested and astonished at finding single stocks, cornflowers, and wild parsley growing in the fields round camp. The Date trees here, tho' they bear fruit, never produce any that is very good. The Commissariat Conductor always purchased his grain here. I saw, myself, in a suburb of Jellalabad, upwards of 2,000 lbs of **Jewaree**; also salt, rice, and some flour. The proper price to pay for grain in Afghanistan is one rupee for forty Bombay **seers**; the weight of a **seer** being eighty-four rupees, and the price of a very good bullock is only 6 rupees. Several camels died at this place from eating the leaf of the wild almond plant (oleandar). (44) The Veterinary Surgeon opened three of the animals and found in two cases the 4th stomach, and in another case the 2nd 3rd and 4th stomachs, much inflamed; the whole of the stomachs were as full as they could hold of undigested forage and bore marks of a strong, active poison. The Camel, on being first attacked with the disease, commences vomiting, which continues more or less till his death.

The following morning I again went over the town [Jellalabad] and found it dirty in the extreme, and in fact, the only really clean street is the covered Bazaar, a sketch of which I have given. All the streets are very narrow, the houses are high and built of mud and brick, Bazaars covered in [i.e., over] and poor, [with] lots of shops of sweetmeat makers. I looked in at two Musjids [mosques], the **Cazee's**, and one built by Sadit Khan. The latter is the largest building in Jellalabad and is quite tolerable. There is a large manufactory for glass in the town which is well worth a visit. To

manufacture it, the earth of flints, which may be considered as a sort of siliceous sand, is mixed in a certain definite proportion with Potash, or Soda, and exposed to the strongest heat in a furnace. The substance then becomes liquid, and when cooled will be transparent. The proportion is about $\frac{2}{3}$ sand and $\frac{1}{3}$ potash; a very small quantity of manganese clears the glass. (45) In Afghanistan the crucibles used for melting glass are made of thick Wootz Iron; a blowing iron, knife, or shears, and pincers, are the principal tools; the oxides of metals give colour to glass as in pottery [glazes].

Four doors further on, the Afghans are daily very busy at the manufacture of Gun Powder, which is made of three ingredients — viz.

Saltpetre, or Nitre

Sulphur, or brimstone

Charcoal, or Carbon, combined in the following proportions:

75 of Saltpetre

10 Sulphur

15 Charcoal

1st, to refine the Saltpetre, dissolve 4 lbs of rough saltpetre by boiling it in as much water as will commodiously suffice for the purpose. Then let it shoot for two or three days in a covered earthen vessel, with sticks laid across for the Crystals to adhere to; these crystals, being taken out, are drained and dried in the open air. In order to reduce this salt to powder, dissolve a large quantity of it in as small a portion of water as possible; then keep it constantly stirring over a fire till the water evaporates and a dry white powder remains.

2nd, to purify Sulphur, melt it with a very great heat, then scum it and pass it through a strainer. An iron cover which fits close to the melting vessel must be prepared, as the Saltpetre sometimes takes fire. The Sulphur is then reduced to an impalpable powder.

3rd, Charcoal is best made from some light kind of wood — the Milkbush is very good for this purpose. (46) The usual mode is called charring in pits. The wood is cut into pieces about 3 feet in length; it is then piled on the ground in a circular form, 3, 4 or 5 cords of wood making what is called a pit, and [it is] then covered with straw, kept down by earth or sand, and vent holes are made as may be necessary in order to give it air. As this method is defective, charcoal for Gunpowder should, if possible, be made as follows.

The wood is placed in iron cylinders horizontally. One end is then closely stopped; at the other end are pipes connected with casks. Fire being made under the cylinders, the Pyroligneous acid, attended with a large portion of Hydrogen gas, comes out. The gas escapes and the acid liquor is collected in the casks. The fire is kept up till no more gas or liquor comes over, and the charcoal remains behind. This is reduced to powder, but great care must be taken, as it is extremely inflammable.

The ingredients, thus reduced to a fine powder, are then mixed and sent to the mill. This consists of a beam, turned by means of a water wheel, or by bullocks, and furnished with a great lot of projecting arms which rise up and let fall in succession a series of pestles, or stampers, below which are placed copper vessels, or mortars, containing the composition, moistened with a small quantity of clear water. The composition when taken from the mill is in hard lumps; it is then broken by mallets into a proper size and the dust removed.

Earthen jars covered with painted leather are very good to keep powder in a Magazine; (47) but for transport wooden boxes lined with sheet copper are best. They may contain 12 lbs each, and have rope handles, and a small lid. These can easily be moved, and can be packed on bullocks, ponies, mules, camels, or carts, or even carried by men.

The Afghan Artillery is of two sorts; the one is the great and heavy Artillery; the other light. [The latter] is very well ordered, [and] consists of 50, or 60, small Field-pieces, (48) all of brass, and each [is] mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a small coffer, before and behind, for the powder. [Each gun is] drawn by two very fair horses and driven by a coachman, like a calèche [calash] adorned with a number of small red and green streamers, each having a third horse led by the chariot for relief.

Building in Afghanistan

Stone. Sandstone (darkish colour), very good for carving; hard black basaltic rock. This is generally cut into squares of about a foot cube, and used for building walls and foundations. The range of the Safed Koh hills furnishes this material to any quantity!

Brick. These are of two kinds: (**puccas** [**pucka**]) burnt brick are small and hard, but on account of the scarcity of fuel, expensive, [and] they are particularly useful for arches, canals, wells, &c.; the sun-dried bricks (**Kuccha** [**cutcha**]) are much larger, and are made of the whitish earth found round old towers in which there is a considerable quantity of ammonia, and when dry they have a grayish colour, and with age become remarkably hard. (49) The walls of villages and huts are composed of these [sun-dried] bricks; but they require to be protected at the top against the annual rains. Walls 4 or 5 feet thick are likewise built of this mud in layers (50)

Mortar. **Chuman** (burnt lime) is mixed with river sand and a reddish brown liquor extracted from a kind of mud. A small quantity of hemp is sometimes mixed [in, and] the mortar will take a good polish, and holds water well.

Tiles for roofs are semicircular [and tiles are also used] for paving, [for lining] small canals, &c., [and] are red and hard. The best kind of Timber is Teak. (51) This is brought down from the hills on carts, [the logs being cut] about 10 to 15 feet long and one to two feet square. There are other large timber trees, but these are often attacked by insects. [These] will answer for doors, windows, &c. Outbuildings and cottages are often thatched, which keeps out the wet very well, [but] in Afghan towns most of the dwellings are flat roofed with mud terraces.

I now produce a sketch of the best Mosque in Jellalabad, with a view principally to illustrate the general style of the Architecture which, to a certain degree, influenced the Afghans in the erection of some of their splendid monuments. This Mosque is supposed to have been built about 1550. I have also endeavoured to show that the Afghan soil is without doubt impregnated with precious minerals and that it was once covered with flourishing Cities, from Jellalabad on the one side, to Ghuznee on the other (where the country was covered with artificial aqueducts [**karez**, see Chapt. 1, n. 11]); and wherein is not only to be found mineral wealth the like of which no other country can produce, but there must also be hidden, and buried inside the numerous Tumuli, the enormous wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones looted from India by their [its] Mahomedan Conquerors. What has become of the enormous wealth [such as] Gibbon described in **The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire**, seized by Mahmoud from the treasury of Delhi? For instance, [what became of] that magnificent ruby which weighed six pounds three ounces and was conveyed to Ghuznee, Afghanistan, together with millions of gold, diamonds, pearls, and rubies? They are doubtless to be found buried underneath the Tumuli! (52) The Hindoos are also the grasping Moneylending



The Best Mosque in Jellalabad.

and Banker class in Afghanistan. (53) They give [larger] loans on marriages when by Afghan law they are allowed to grant an advance to the Parents not exceeding Rs. 60 for the marriage of a Child, such advance to be paid off by three yearly instalments, with interest at 5 per cent; the original sum till liquidated being charged as a debt on his [the borrower's] land.

The principal deities in the Hindoo religion are:

Bramha

Vishnou (These may be said to form a Triad) (54)

The inferior gods are:

1. Bawaney (female)
2. Brimpa (male). This name in Sanscrit means Wisdom of God
3. Seraswaty (female)
4. Vishnou (male), said to have had ten incarnations
5. Sheeoch (male)
6. Vicknama, the God of Victory
7. Darham Rajah, or Jam Rajah, offspring of Sow (the Sun)
8. Reishen and the 9 gopia seems to correspond with Apollo and the Muses; he is represented as a young man playing on a flute.
9. Ramoe deva, God of love
10. Lingham, Phallus of the ancients, generally worshipped in the Deccan. (55)

There are 14 others, amongst whom may be mentioned Lechmy, wife of Vishnou, and Ganes, or Gappaty, God of learning or prudence (head like an elephant). Besides these [there are] many demi gods, and the sacred Bull. According to their lawgiver Menu, all Hindoos should be divided into four tribes or Castes, and they abstain from all flesh. Many of the Hindoo Temples [in Afghanistan] are partly built in the Mahomedan style. (56) There are some good gardens in which [there] are many fruit trees and vineyards.

Wine is not made by the Hindoos; but from a species of tree resembling the date-bearing palm they procure an excellent beverage in the following manner. They cut off a branch, and put over the place [of the cut] a vessel to receive the juice as it distils [drains] from the wood. [It] is filled in the course of a day and a night. These Hindoos are by no means of a military habit; but on the contrary, [they are] abject and timid. The greater part of these idolatrous inhabitants of Jellalabad show particular reverence to the ox, and none will, from any consideration, be induced to eat the flesh of oxen. It ought to be noticed that in eating they make use of the right hand only, nor do they ever touch their food with the left. (57) They drink out of a brass lota which is a particular kind of vessel, (58) and each individual from his own, never making use of the drinking pot of another person! In their temples there are many idols, the forms of which represent them as the male and the female sex. The Brahmins are distinguished by a certain badge, consisting of a thick cotton thread which passes over the shoulder, and is tied under the arm in such a manner that the thread appears upon the breast and behind the back. Their teeth are preserved sound by the use of a certain vegetable which they are in the habit of masticating. (59) Amongst these Hindoos there is a class peculiarly devoted to a religious life, and who in honor of their divinities lead most austere lives. They pay adoration to the ox and carry about a figure of one of gilt brass, or other metal! and when they die their bodies are burned! They amuse themselves by chewing the betel nut, covering themselves from head to foot with cowdung, demanding alms, and cursing the non-giver.

On the 16th June [1879] an Officer who was a great favourite with the 2nd Brigade, named Lieutenant Roberts, 27th P.N.I., died of Cholera at Landi Kotal. (60) From this date many poor fellows died; Officers and men were completely worn out. A great number of the former obtained leave to the Murree hills, Simla, Mussourie and Naini Tal, where they soon (except in a few cases) regained their strength and vigour. On the 20th June Brigadier-General Tytler published his famous farewell Order! viz.



Old Hindu Temple Pondicherry, India. Mosque, Calcutta River, Bengal.

Orders 2nd Brigade 1st Division P.V.F.F. 20th June 1879. No. 329.

On the Breaking up of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, Peshawur Valley Field Force, Brigadier-General Tytler, C.B., V.C., desires to offer his warmest thanks to Commanding Officers, Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and men of the Brigade for the admirable discipline, coolness under fire, patient endurance in many forced marches by day and night, and under discomforts and privations which all ranks have so cheerfully borne under his command in the Khyber Campaign.

The 2nd Brigade the Brigadier General believes has borne its full share in the work allotted to the 1st Division, and the perfect success which has crowned all the operations in which it has been engaged he attributes to the discipline, cheerfulness, and Soldier like qualities of the Regiments under his command. The 17th Regiment has been under the Brigadier General's command from the first operations to the present time, and has shared with him the fatigues and privations of the Flank March to Kata Kushtia, and repeated expeditions, including the two Expeditions into the Bazar Valley and the Action at Tubai [Thibai] Pass; the forced march to Maidanak, and the highly successful operations against the Shinwarries of Deh Surruk [Sarakh].

The excellent conduct of the Regiment on all these occasions as well as during the monotony of less eventful camp life has earned for this Regiment the lasting admiration of the Brigadier General, and he believes of the whole Khyber Army, and he begs to render his best thanks. &c., &c., &c.

Similar thanks were given to the 27th Punjab Native Infantry and to the 45th Rattray's Sikhs!

In bidding farewell to the Brigade, and warmly thanking everyone connected with it, the Brigadier General desires to express the pride and satisfaction he has felt on being honored with the command of such a magnificent body of Soldiers and the regret with which he now parts with the Brigade, a regret which is qualified with the reflection that two of the Regiments composing it (H.M. 17th Regt and 45th Sikhs) will continue to serve under him for some time in his new Command!

Seventeen days after publishing this Order, Brigadier-General J.A.

IN MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS
& SOLDIERS OF THE 1ST BATT
7TH (LEICESTERSHIRE) REGIMENT
OF FOOT WHO LOST THEIR LIVES
IN AFGHANISTAN DURING THE
CAMPAIGN 1878-80

CAPT J H GAMBLE
LIEUT NC WILKINSON, LIEUT L MITCHELL
LIEUT CG WHITBY 2ND LIEUT LH WATSON

SERGEANTS
J G MITCHELL W GIBBS

CORPORALS
A JOHNSON, S PAYNE, G WEBB

PRIVATE		
P POWELL	N FLANNAGAN	C PRATT
M MAHER	J M CARTHY	G LIPPERTON
L CONNOR	G COOPER	W CLARK
W HENNING	L GANNEY	J HAINSWORTH
W HAWELL	W WILLIAMS	T COOK
H DODD	W WILKES	R KIRKBY
G DUFFELL	T H. JEFFREY	D JEFFREY
J DODD	H HILL	J FORT
J JOHNSON	P BERRY	P. S. JAMES
J. J. SMITH	J MADLEY	W. HAYES
T. JEFFREYS	E BRADBURY	G. T. JONES
C NICHOLLS	F ROBERTS	G. H. JONES
H. JONES	H. HAYES	

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY
THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS
OF THE BATTALION

[Memorial Plaque, Leicester Regimental Chapel] (61)

Tytler, C.B., V.C., proceeded to the Murree hills on Medical leave, and owing to continued ill health, he was obliged to give up the command of the Khyber Brigade; but after the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and Escort [3 Sept. 1879] he was again selected for the command of the Expedition into the Zaimucht [Zaimukhts] territory. This he accomplished successfully with very little opposition; but almost immediately after his return his health gave way, and he died [14 Feb. 1880] from pneumonia. A memorial Tablet was erected by the 2nd Brigade and placed inside his Parish Church in Scotland.

The mistake of abandoning Dakka, Basawal, Pesh Bolak, and Jellalabad soon began to make itself felt at Landi Kotal. Thefts occurred almost every night, and camels, bullocks, ponies, mules, and rifles disappeared in a most extraordinary way! Shots were fired every night at the picquets, and during the daytime no native followers were permitted to leave Camp without being accompanied by a guard of **Juzzailchis** furnished by the Political Agent. (62) Nevertheless, many of them were murdered, and to try and catch the assassins, two Officers with ten Soldiers of H.M. 12th Regiment, descended by the path which leads to the bed of the Khyber stream, and then marched along the valley to Landi Khana, arriving there at dusk. Two four-bullock carts filled with straw and covered with waterproof sheets were awaiting them. An officer and five men then got into each cart and hid themselves carefully in the straw, with loaded rifles! The bullocks were put in motion, and the carts slowly commenced to ascend the winding road to Landi Kotal. It soon became very dark, and it was with great difficulty that the Soldiers in the rear cart were able to discern the cart in front. The Afridis were too cunning to be caught in this way, and no attack was made on the carts. [They] arrived at the summit at midnight, when suddenly a crash was heard in rear of the front cart which was caused by the second cart, with its bullocks, going off the road into a precipitous nullah, one of the bullocks being severely hurt. Fortunately no Soldier was injured. So the party marched to Camp, leaving the broken cart where it was. On the 27th June [1879] three grasscutters were murdered, and two others severely wounded at a place quite close to the Camp in the middle of the day; several other instances of followers being killed occurred, and all Officers were cautioned to wear revolvers, and the Soldiers their side-arms. Several Officers died at Landi Kotal, and among them was Surgeon Major J. Wallace who was in charge of the Field Hospital, and had brought on his own death in [by] his endeavours to save his cholera patients. The Revd Father J. Endoven, Roman Catholic Chaplain [died] from dysentery. Major John R. Dyce, Commanding 11/9 Royal Artillery, and Captain John Henry Gamble, 17th Regiment [also died]. (63) Their deaths all occurred a few days of each other, and cast a gloom over the Station. From this time, the health of the troops gradually improved, and Cholera left the place, although it raged in Peshawar, and along the Grand Trunk Road to Nowshera for the next few months.

Landi Kotal was not a favourite Station, &c., because there were no Barracks or Recreation Rooms for the European Soldiers, and no good Bazaar in which a Sepoy could smoke his hookah, or buy cheap flour. There was a difficulty about the water supply which had to be brought up in **Mussucks** on mules from a stream at the bottom of the hill; but experienced Royal Engineer Officers positively declared that wells could easily be sunk, in the centre of the Station, which would save a great deal of unnecessary trouble. Large barracks had been commenced but the work was suspended; two had fortunately been completed, and these were turned into hospitals for the sick. Nevertheless, Officers and Men had by this time quickly begun to settle down as comfortably as possible under the circumstance. The Indian Government had

declared that Landi Kotal should be a Station for British troops, and plans for a Cantonment had been submitted, in which bungalows were to be built, roads made, and trees planted, and even Officers and Men began to look forward to the time when their wives and children would be permitted to reside there. But the terrible news that our Embassy which we had established in Caubul, on the 3rd September, had been massacred. (64)

Every Officer and Soldier in the Punjab was at once recalled from Leave, and General [F.S.] Roberts advanced with an Army from the Kurram [Valley], and quickly avenged this act of unexampled treachery, defeating the enemy which opposed his advance, and occupied Caubul, having captured two hundred and ten guns! (65) Thousands of fresh troops were again ordered up towards Caubul through the Khyber Pass. Of these, H.M. 9th Foot, 2nd and 4th Goorkhas, marched to Caubul, and on arrival via Jugdulluk found that the Afghans had made an attack on the Sherpur entrenchments [and] had been decisively defeated by General Roberts. (66)

Yakoob Khan, who had previously abdicated, became a prisoner in India, and he has been residing ever since in Mussourie, in which pleasant hill station, inside the largest and most charmingly situated house, from whence a magnificent view of the two beautiful valleys of the Doon is obtained, and in the company of his wives, retinue, horses, and dogs, he is having a rare good time of it! This villain, who together with his Friends should have been executed for the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and Escort of the Embassy, enjoys instead the best shooting that can be obtained in the famous Doon, and his Wives are allowed to obtain the tawdry finery and silks, cloths, &c., which they wear, direct from Calcutta! (67)

Abdur Rahman Khan was [later] recognized by the Indian Government as Amir of Caubul [Afghanistan]. A Treaty was concluded and ratified with him, and it was again proclaimed to the World that eternal friendship shall [should] last between the British and the Amir of Afghanistan. (68) After which a very masterly retreat of all our Troops from Afghanistan took place; the forts with their guns and large quantities of valuable stores were again made over as a free present, and the right of maintaining a British Envoy in Caubul was renounced. (69) The new Frontier, from Jumrood, through the Khyber Pass to Landi Kotal, was abandoned, except by the formation of a Corps of the Juzzailchis to keep the Pass open for Trade, and this Corps was attacked and dispersed by the Hill Tribes a few years ago. The Afridis have again occupied the Pass; we have thus resigned every result of our expensive Campaigns, and have left our Political relations more doubtful than they were with Shere Ali. In fact, with the very unusual forbearance of a great Nation, no territory has been annexed to partly repay our enormous loss of men, money, and prestige. (70) Moreover, we have nothing whatever to show for the Campaigns of 1878-80, when about one hundred and sixty Officers and several thousands of Soldiers lost their lives, besides about twenty millions of money [expended], and a subsidy of Rs 1,800,000 which is paid annually to the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan by the Government of India, (71) a large portion of which is now completely lost to India, it having been circulated beyond our Frontier.

There is no doubt that in a few years hence a British Army will not only re-occupy Caubul (which will entail another enormous outlay of blood and money), but even now the course which affairs are taking at Herat, and on the Persian Gulf, are being followed with great attention, not only in Afghanistan and India, but also in Russia and in Germany. (72) The Russian progress within the last few years in Central Asia has been enormous, and it is well known that she is preparing to make a swoop on Herat on the first

good occasion that offers itself for such a friendly act, which will probably be on the death of the Amir, while Germany has now a Consulate in Bushire on the Persian Gulf. Therefore, the sooner we re-occupy the Island of Kharg, it will be to the great advantage of ourselves and our neighbours, (73) especially as our Friend, the Amir, has lately been reported as greatly incensed with the Indian Government for permitting the Waziri tribes to make raids on Afghan territory. By our occupation of the Island of Kharg, or Karak [Karrack], we would drive away three birds with one stone, namely Russia, Germany, and defunct Persia, where (if necessary) a light column might advance on Shiraz, which is only about 200 miles to the east of Bushire. (74) There are abundant supplies of forage and carriage along this route, and only one difficult spot for artillery, though there are several ranges of hills to cross.

Should we occupy Bushire, we could of course draw greater supplies from the Pashalik of Bagdad (on payment), and if we appointed "proper officers" to represent the British Government at the principal points along the Euphrates, our influence with the tribes near the western frontier of Persia would rapidly increase. But we must no longer name Armenian merchants, and even Jews, as our Agents. (75)

Another point is to renew our intercourse with the rulers of Candahar, Jellalabad, Caubul, and Herat by pushing forward two lines of railway to those places. After our late expensive campaigns, the Government of India seem to have become quite sick of the very name of Caubul, and not only have abandoned the country, but apparently have withdrawn in anger from all intercourse with the people and their chiefs. (76) Such conduct seems rather unstatesmanlike; but so long as we possess India, we must have considerable interest in the state of our immediate neighbours, especially when, like the Afghans, they intervene between us and Persia, which is at present so dependent on Russia! A strictly friendly Embassy on a liberal scale would most probably be received with satisfaction by Abdur Rahman Khan and would soon have a good effect on the Afghan mountain Chiefs, and indirectly with Persia [see n. 19]. Our last War with Persia took place in 1856-57, when the expedition sailed from Bombay in November 1856, and consisted of 5,670 Troops 1,150 horses. It was chiefly caused by Russian influence and advice [which encouraged] the Shah to attack the Afghans in Herat. Our Troops were at once landed near Bushire, and after some fighting took the place, and a light Column advanced along the road to Kazerun, and surprised the Persian Camp. Their Cavalry and Infantry behaved badly; so after burning the Camp, the Column returned to Bushire. Sir James Outram next proceeded to the Haweeza river with a small Detachment, and took some strong batteries, and then dispersed the whole Persian Army! (77) In great alarm, the Shah asked for peace and [upon his] evacuating [lifting the siege at] Herat, &c., it was granted! We, since then, have long been most forbearing toward the Government of Teheran, well knowing its extreme weakness, and our motives have always been misunderstood. The Persians are like the Spaniards, immoderately conceited and ignorant, and imagine that they and the Afghans are the most brave and powerful nations in the East, and, though not bigoted Mahomedans, still look on Christians as inferior beings. (78)

Sooner or later, we shall be obliged again to undeceive them as to our military power, or our influence in the countries bordering our Afghan Frontier will be entirely lost in favour of Russia -- already that Power has vast influence at the Persian Court of Teheran, and our commerce has suffered proportionally. The only method to regain our lost commerce and prestige is to at once occupy Bushire and neighbourhood in force, having our Outposts at

Shiraz and Hospitals on the Island of Karak [Karrack, or Kharg] where not only sheep and goats, but also fruit is plentiful. Another good reason for our taking possession of Bushire is that the concession for the proposed Asia Minor Railway is now owned by Germany and, therefore, that Power wishes to own a port on the Persian Gulf. Russia will in such case immediately take a port called Bunder Abbas; so while these two Powers are advancing and preparing for the future War, we are, in fact, standing still, and have practically left Bushire and Karak. (79) The latter place we held from 1838 till 1841, when our Force consisted of a battery European Artillery, with a field battery drawn by mules; a battery Native Artillery; 490 men of the 1st Regiment European Infantry; and a Regiment of Native Infantry under the command of Colonel Hughes, C.B.

It should also be remembered that, whilst nearly all foreign troops have to serve merely in their own Country, or at least not out of Europe, two-thirds of our Soldiers pass the best years of their lives on distant Service in the four quarters of the World. The dangers and discomforts of long sea voyages are unknown to foreign Soldiers and Officers, and with regard to the physical condition of the British Soldier, he is certainly better fed and clothed and has much more money to spend on himself than the corresponding ranks abroad. The old Barracks throughout Great Britain are, however, a perfect disgrace to the Nation, and the beds, &c., are not so good as they should be, either in England, India, or Africa (certainly not superior to the French, German, or Belgian). The education and improvement of the minds of our Soldiers has been too much neglected; for instead of affording them opportunities of rational amusement, they were till lately treated more like dangerous beasts of prey. Drunkenness was the great hane of the British Army — 9/10 of the crime and disorder throughout the Service could be traced to this vice. I am glad to say, however, that a great improvement has taken place; but still it is far from being eradicated. The general tone of morality is also higher! (80)

"To swear like a Trooper"

has passed into a common saying. It appears also from the testimony of "my Uncle Toby, that our Soldiers swore dreadfully in Flanders." This useless sin is no longer considered manly, or fashionable, among the Officers, and the Men follow their example, and in general content themselves now with plain English! The Regimental Schools, Reading Rooms and Libraries have done much good; but there is still room for improvement. (81)

It is not right to disparage the splendid fighting qualities of the British Soldier who still retains his good name for pluck and endurance. Nevertheless, when a reverse does take place many Members of Parliament appear to take a delight in impugning the conduct of our Generals and Soldiers whose only fault, as a rule, has been that they are unable to fight and manoeuvre successfully against ten times their numbers. There is but one remedy by which we may still maintain our prestige and save our British Empire — to wit -- Seasoned Soldiers, and an increased Naval and Military establishment, whether by conscription or otherwise! In order a few years hence to meet Russia near Herat, England must furnish at least 14,000 Infantry, 2,500 Cavalry, and 40 Guns, totally apart from all considerations of any increase of the Army that she may deem advisable to make in India, who can without doubt furnish her quota of Native troops for an army in Afghanistan in the following proportions: 24,000 Infantry, 4,000 Cavalry, and 60 Guns — making a total strength of British and Native Troops of 38,000 Infantry, 6,500 Cavalry, and 100 Guns. (82)

Military power cannot be produced without training, and it is folly to

Scale of Miles

1 2 3



Plan of the Island and Fort of Karak, on the Persian Coast

suppose, on war being declared, that however brisk recruiting may be, the result will form an Army capable of meeting the trained Armies of any Continental Nation. Officers and Soldiers both require years of training, more especially the latter, [of] whom it is difficult to turn out a perfect Soldier under 4 years. A great saving might with advantage be made to the Nation by reducing the Pay of the Staff Officers. For instance, an Aide-de-Camp of only a few years Service in the Army, and who has probably seen little Regimental Service abroad, receives a daily Pay ranging from 15 shillings to 21 shillings, while a Major in an Infantry Regiment, who is seldom under 20 years Service, receives a daily pay to the amount of 13s.7d., while the Lieut.-Colonel of a Line Regiment obtains 18 shillings, out of which Income Tax is charged. This seems preposterous. There is another very unfair item charged against the Army Estimates, viz., the War Office Salaries and Charges which amount yearly to about £270,000. When one considers that these Salaries are not drawn by Soldiers, but by a few Civilian Clerks, the system carried out at the War Office seems rather remarkable -- especially as the work could be quite as efficiently carried out by our retired Sergeants of the Regimental Orderly Rooms and retired Sergeants of the Army Pay Department at half the Salaries which are now paid to Civilians! Taking it for granted that we must increase our Army and Navy in view of future complications (for at this moment notwithstanding the Czar of Russia's disarmament peace proposals, he is this year increasing his Navy, and the French and Germans are doing likewise with their Armies and Ships), the British tax payer must overcome his inveterate hatred of putting his hands into his pocket. It is impossible for him to obtain a good article without paying for it, and if he does not fall in with the spirit of the times, sooner or later a humiliating defeat similar to what France experienced in 1879 [1870-71], or like what the United States taught Spain a few months ago, will be the result. (83) A like defeat, if suffered by us from Russia in Asia, would be followed not only by the breaking up of the Empire, and consequent utter ruination of our great Bankers [and] the Mercantile and Agricultural Classes throughout the British Isles and Colonies, but also [by the ruin] of almost every Individual therein, by reason of the enormous War indemnities that would be exacted. This would be the opportunity of our numerous Socialists to shake off the landed and town proprietors, and [to] do away with our Laws, our Constitution, and our Religion!

It may be said in answer to the above, that even if we may sustain a crushing defeat in Asia or Europe -- English gold will save us from the humiliation of being placed under the tutelage of the Powers -- that a far too gloomy view has been taken with regard to our own present state of "Masterly Inactivity." (84) In reply to this, [it should be stated that] the History of the downfall of other great Empires should be remembered, at the same time bearing in mind that "History repeats itself," and that our present geographical isolation from all our numerous Colonies and Possessions must oblige us to maintain a very powerful Navy which should be easily able to cope with the combined Fleets of France and Russia, and at the same time protect our Merchant Fleets and numerous Ports. But we must likewise have a standing Army in such a state of efficiency that we could successfully beat back any attack that could be made on us by a European Power in Asia, or Africa. That this may be speedily recognised, not only by the Rulers who control the destinies of our Great Empire, but also by the whole British Nation, is earnestly to be desired, and that they must and will do so at once is the firm belief of those who hope that England will preserve her sway.



The Kyberese in the Kyber Pass

On leaving Afghanistan for Peshawar [July 1879], I rode with two Officers and an Escort of Bengal Cavalry through the Khyber Pass to Jumrood, and from thence on to Peshawar. In the Pass the stench was atrocious, owing to the stinking Carcasses of dead Camels, bullocks, mules, and dead natives along each side of the route. There were several armed Hill men occupying lookout Posts; also, a few women were to be seen, who I suppose were bringing food, or news, to their husbands. A few pot shots at us were made by the former, but no damage was done. They did not appear to me to be the sort of people that one would care to become acquainted with on a dark night in Afghanistan! After a short halt at the fort at Jumrood, we continued our ride without the Escort to Peshawar, arriving there at 1 pm, and found this usually gay, sun-blanced Indian frontier town dried up, dusty, and gloomy. Cholera had taken possession of the Cantonments, the Bazaars, and the City. [The] latter has a population of 100,000 inhabitants, and Officers [and] Soldiers (European and Native) were dying in large numbers daily. Inside the City and Bazaars, Mahomedans, Hindoos, and Sikhs were, even in proportion of numbers, suffering worse. All the Hospitals were quite full, and Barracks were also being used in that capacity. To the English, save those whose destiny it has been to be stationed there with their Regiments, or in some Civil capacity, its [Peshawar's] beauties are unknown. But those who know Peshawar — and to know Peshawar is to love it — are well aware that one can obtain there the most perfect winter in India, and hunting besides: quail, snipe, and wild duck shooting. The Peshawar Race Course is well patronized and the Cricket Ground is the best and prettiest in the Punjab; and during the Summer the hill Stations of Cherat and Murree could, in those days, be



easily reached by **Dak Gharrie**. (85) Now that there is a Railway from Peshawar, there can be no difficulty whatever in getting to either place in much less time.

It is not obtrusive by being garish, and [Peshawar is] never gaudy, or inartistic, although the great fire in 1875 would have overwhelmed the City had not our Royal Engineers, assisted by the British Garrison, worked night and day to subdue it. Still, it has its long beautiful roads, bordered with the Mulberry and chesnut trees and flowering oleanders; it has its wide airy gardens close to the fine old Church; and lastly its **gharries** in which one can drive a mile for the small sum of eight annas. There were also in the place a Museum, an Hotel, and a **Dak Bungalow**. But on our arrival there in July, the trees were whitened by the dust, the glare from the road was unpleasant, and the heat was terrific.

We rode at once to Jehangeers Godown in the Sudder Bazaar, found and opened our numerous boxes, and to our surprise discovered that there was not a single suit of clothes fit to wear, owing to moths and various insects. Our Uniforms were in a similar condition, and in fact, everything was in holes. Our guns and rifles had been eaten into by rust, and the saddlery had become rotten! We at once telegraphed urgent orders to a tailor in Murree, sending measurements, wired to our tailors in London for supplies of every description of Uniform, and drove to various shops where a clean shirt, light covert coat, helmet, and crush hat could be procured, after which a tub and shave ensued, which transformed our uncivilized appearance into that of gentlemen.

Next morning, after making our arrangements for travelling to Murree by **Dak Gharries**, we called at the Officers Mess where we were most hospitably entertained at tiffin, and throughout the heat of the day (having written Home letters) we idled away our time in the Anteroom over magazines and newspapers. The furniture of this small elegant room was entirely modern,

upholstered in pale green silk, with the monogram of the Regiment in gold thread; the **Punkah** fringes were lined with green and gold, and all the Mess Servants were dressed in white and wore green **puggeries** which were ornamented with gold badges. Numerous pictures were on the walls; also heads of tiger, **sambhur**, blackbuck, etc. The Mess Room was very long, having on each side sideboards covered with splendid gold and silver Regimental plate, and over the entrance were placed the old and tattered Colours of the Regiment, surmounting the portrait of Her Majesty the Queen. On the walls were numerous portraits of famous Generals, and former Commanding Officers. The curtains were of green bordered with gold, and long Persian carpets made the whole Mess look very luxurious and comfortable, and [it] was much appreciated by us after our arduous Campaign.

Our talk was confined to the War, and its results; also of the great advantage gained by having control of the Khyber Pass, and a Residency at Caubul under such an able man as Cavagnari! We were unanimous in the conclusion that should Russia, through her Political Agents and Spies, again attempt to disturb the Afghan Frontier we ought at once to seize the Persian Gulf, Bushire, Kharg, and last but not least, Muskat, with the territory belonging to that Sultan, which fine and fertile country Russia was then (in 1880) scheming to annex. (86) The Czar's game may be considered similar to that played by the Juggler at a village fair, or at a race meeting, on his amused rustic audience, viz!

"This, gentlemen, is the Game I plays"
"Ven I loses, I pays!"

He has hitherto only lost on one occasion, and that was in the Crimea, which kept Russia quiet for a few years.

On the other hand, the Afghans never lose in the long run when they have a rupture with us, owing to those numerous Societies in Great Britain who believe in the policy of Peace, and read such profound Works as "The ethical aspects of War, Chapter 10: Morality as a Religion." (87) These Peace loving people remain at home, and dream that war and strife will, in a few years, cease to exist; they grudge the millions of pounds spent yearly on our Navy and Army to enable them to sing the popular song of "Rule Britannia," for they think that these millions should be given instead towards "the moralisation of the poor and the outcast at our very doors in this City."

I am of [the] opinion that it would be far better for our Poor were we to act in the sensible way that the Americans do. They will not permit the poor and outcast, the thieves, and the anarchists of every Nation in the World to take refuge in the United States as we do in Great Britain; but they at once pack them back to where they came from. If we copied our far-seeing Cousins in this sytem, commencing our experiment on the peace-loving Czar by returning to his Dominions every Russian and Pole in London who are taking the bread out of the mouths of our poor men, women, and children, I think that there would appear a very great improvement in the East End of London!

There can be no doubt that it is not only the "Peace at any price Societies" who are responsible for most of our wars, but also many of the irresponsible Journals [that] help them (without knowing it) in creating our diplomatic ruptures. Let them visit Afghanistan and the Hill Tribes who reside on our Frontier; it would be very interesting to see how quickly the opinions of these gentlemen would change. They would quickly comprehend that, if we did away with our Army and Navy, and then spent the money instead

on the poor and needy in Great Britain and Ireland, our Empire, our Laws, and Religion, besides our money, would all soon disappear. Let them also reflect that, by the loss of the British Navy, the necessary food supplies would be cut off, to starve us into submission.

The Czar is enormously increasing his Navy, and pushing forward his railways as fast as possible. At present the Russian and British Railways in Asia terminate at Kushk and Chaman respectively. (88) He is now taking great interest in the Railway Question. All the Newspapers are discussing this important subject, and the following extract from the *Turkestan Gazette*, which appeared in *The Standard* of 10th Febry 1899, appears very significant, viz —

The uniting of the British and Russian railways — the Sindh-Pisheen and the Merv-Kushk branch of the Trans-Caspian Line — will undoubtedly bring about of itself the construction of a line to join the Trans-Caspian, through Uralsk and Saratov, with the railways of European Russia. Thus would be formed a great Asian railway extending from Calcutta to St. Petersburg, to which a line would run from the Persian Gulf, to be built at the expense of the Russian Government. (89)

Now let us consider what Russia has done since 1871, notwithstanding our frequent demands of "Thus far shalt thou go but no further." The Czar, in 1872, conquered Khiva "for commercial purposes." He has annexed the Turkomans, and has seized Merv, which latter place is only 8 days march from the Key of India, namely Herat; and he has kindly taken under his benevolent protection the Tekke Turkomans and the Yomut Tribes, with a population of over 3 millions of inhabitants, for the above reasons! (90) He now commands 4,625 miles of frontier bordering on Afghanistan, (91) and these are now the roads by which he can invade India --

1. Merv to Herat -- (eight easy marches) and from thence by the main road through Caubul.
2. Merv to Caubul, along the Murghab River, where the country is easy for all arms, and abundant supplies for an Army of 40,000 men and horses are procurable, and from thence, *via* the Candahar, Kurram, or the Khyber Pass.
3. From Khiva, or Merv, to Balkh, following the Amu River, crossing the River Balkh and River Khulm to Kunduz, and thence through Chitral.
4. Via Turkestan through Wakhan.
5. Via Kashmir to the Jhelum by rail.
6. The very important route from Erivan to Teheran, and through Khorasan! and last, but not least, he will have the Merv-Kushk railway! (92)

Now let us turn to the Amir of Afghanistan, His High Highness Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., who (from all accounts) has not been enjoying lately the best of health. (93) He yearly receives from the Indian Government a substantial subsidy of twelve lacs of rupees, which is about 1,840,000 Caubul rupees [see n. 68]. The above sum is enormous when it is taken into consideration that the whole of the trade between India and

Afghanistan during the year 1898 is only valued at Rs. 1,420,000! (94) The Passes and the roads are not open to Englishmen, either for trade or travel, and he spends this money, not on improving the country by making roads, and canals, etc., [but] on increasing his Army and rendering it more efficient by manufacturing guns, rifles, powder, and cartridges! When Russia determines on the long talked of invasion of India, these Afghans are certain to fight for her instead of for us, because vast loot can be obtained out of India while they would not get a rouble even should they manage to defeat the Russians!

Should the Amir die, a civil war in Afghanistan can be looked upon as a moral certainty, as there are at least a dozen Claimants to the throne. It is therefore necessary for us to save the Indian Empire by annexing Afghanistan and establishing ourselves in Herat, and the sooner this is done, the better it will be for us. (95)

It is often said that we would have to hold the place [Kabul] and country with the sword. At first such would be the case; still it would be our duty and, at the same time, to our great advantage while doing that unpleasant duty, to try all we could to improve the state of the Country, and render the Afghans content and prosperous. There is no doubt that Railways will do very much in that way; but the inland navigation of rivers, [construction of] roads, the proper construction of bridges, and the scientific working of the valuable mines, must also be attended to.

In the foregoing, only a mere, but honest, outline on the manners and customs of the Afghans, their Country, their agriculture, and their mineral wealth, has been attended to, in order to show how necessary it is for us to immediately take and annex the Country before the Russians make their next forward move, and also to demonstrate the enormous amount of good that we could do by doing so. We could afterwards supply them with specimens of improved agricultural implements, machinery for mining, etc., horticultural plants, and products. The advantage of attending the machinery has, I believe, been scarcely acknowledged!

When we annex Afghanistan, a few Museums could be started in some of the principal Cities, in which collections of specimens could be sent out from Home. These Museums should not be exclusive, as they are in India, where the Indian Ryot [peasant] does not presume to enter them, to see for himself the latest inventions and improvements. In these museums the Afghan should be encouraged to enter, and within the place, not only should specimens be exhibited, with a full account of the manner of working, and expense, but also working models with figures of Afghan workmen in every stage of the required process [should be displayed]. It must be remembered that, although they have been our Frontier Neighbours for many years, the Natives of Afghanistan are to a great extent like children, and require, in their own language, a clear and tangible explanation of everything. The Museums should give a premium to the best and cheapest imitator. (96) To conclude -- the tenure of Estates and land in Afghanistan is open to improvement in every way. The Afghan of the future must be saved from the Money-lending class. Law and Order must be preserved at any cost, and slavery cannot in future be permitted to go on as a human traffic of goods, and it is our duty, as the greatest civilized Nation in the World, immediately to put a stop to this wicked custom, especially as it is being now practised by our Neighbours whose territory extends for thousands of miles along our present Frontier.

I take the liberty of offering this Essay to the Public of Great Britain and Ireland, and also to our Brothers in the Colonies, as it is the result of patient investigations and hard work, too happy if I may obtain from those

who are learned on the Afghan Question, and our future relations with the Russians, as well as from Authors, Travellers and those interested in the mineral structure of the Earth, the Secrets of Nature, the numerous Tumuli, and in the civilization of our fierce Neighbours on the Indian Frontier, their approbation, as my chief object has been to endeavour to interest my Countrymen in a fierce Nation bordering on our great Indian Empire in the hope that some day these robbers and murderers may become law-abiding Citizens, and that the vast mineral wealth of Afghanistan may be opened out to our great Empire!



Finis. February 3rd 1899.

R.C.

Textnotes



CHAPTER ONE

1. The author probably refers to Roberts's memoirs **Forty-One Years in India**, first published in 1897. Howard Hensman, **The Afghan War of 1879-80** (London: W.H. Allen, 1881), covers the second, and longer, phase of the war, of which Creed makes only slight mention, having not participated in it. Hensman was Special Correspondent for the **Pioneer** (Allahabad), and for the **Daily News** (London) as well. He was invited by Sir Frederick Roberts to join the campaign and was the only officially appointed correspondent to cover the second phase of the war. The noted correspondent Archibald Forbes covered the first phase of the war only, from November 1878 till May 1879, for the **Daily News**, and later wrote a brief account of both the First and Second Afghan wars: **The Afghan Wars 1839-42 and 1878-80** (London: Seeley and Co., 1892). Another major account of the Second Afghan War to which the author might refer is: S. H. Shadbolt, **The Afghan Campaigns of 1878-1880** (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882). The six-part official history of the war has never been published; **The Second Afghan War, 1878-80, Abridged Official Account** (London: John Murray, 1908) was published nearly a decade after the present memoir was compiled. The most detailed account of the war was also published later: Col. H.B. Hanna, **The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80**, 3 vols. (Westminster and London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1899, 1904, 1910). Many participants had, as well, published personal accounts.

2. **Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh** (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816). Pottinger's exploratory journey was undertaken in 1810, and he traveled first north from Karachi, and then westward through north central Baluchistan. His traveling companion, Lieutenant Charles Christie, parted from him at the town of Nushki and continued northward through western Afghanistan to Herat, and then westward into Persia. Christie was killed in Persia soon after completion of the journey, and a summary only of his narrative was entered into the records of the East India Company and published (with slight editing) as an appendix to Pottinger's book. The purpose of these travels was to collect information about territories lying between India and Persia, to the court of the latter Brigadier-General John Malcolm had been sent as envoy, to counter a perceived increase in French influence in this country. See R. Pasley, **Send Malcolm!** (Putney, London: BACSA, 1982) p. 53f.

3. **Travels into Bokhara; being an Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia**, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1834).

4. Lieutenant (later Colonel) Henry Gordon Creed, RA, attached to the Bombay Military Establishment, joined the march of the Army of the Indus, first under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Fane, in the summer and early autumn of 1838, and subsequently under Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane. He was present at the occupation of Kandahar (April 1839) and subsequently took part in the storming of Ghazni (23 July 1839) and occupation of Kabul (7 August). In September 1839, while Sir John Keane withdrew from Afghanistan toward the Khyber Pass and Peshawar, Major-General Sir Thomas Willshire assembled the Bombay Division, in which Creed still served, and on

18 September set out for Baluchistan, with the intention of punishing Mehrab Khan of Kalat whose followers had so severely harassed the Army of the Indus during its passage through his territories the preceding winter and spring. These troops marched back to Ghazni, but at this place left the customary road to Kandahar and struck off to the south, past the Ab-i Istada (lake) directly into the eastern end of the Pishin Valley, cutting 85 miles from the normal route and avoiding both Kandahar and the difficult Khojak Pass. They reached Quetta, 380 miles from Kabul, on October 31, after a march of only 43 days. Lieutenant Creed was with the small artillery detachment (6 guns) accompanying General Willshire, and was present, on 13 November 1839, at the storming of Kalat and death in combat of Mehrab Khan. The Bombay troops afterwards halted for a time in Upper Sind, in the region of Shikarpore.

5. While there are many sub-ranges to the west of the Indus, the three principal ranges are, from the Karakoram in the north to the Arabian Sea, the Salt, Sulaiman, and Kirthar ranges.

6. Reference is probably made to the Khyber and Bolan passes. The Army of the Indus marched into Afghan territory by way of the Bolan Pass in 1839. The border between India and Afghanistan was subsequently drawn along the north slope of the Khwaja Amran Range, the road to Kandahar crossing the latter by the Khojak Pass. The Khojak Pass road was made for the passage of the Army of the Indus, and though later improved, remains essentially as it was constructed in 1839.

7. Ab-i Istada. Though brackish, this lake is the source of the Lora, a tributary to the Helmand River system of southwest Afghanistan.

8. The Helmand River, longest river in Afghanistan, and several smaller streams, terminate at a group of shallow land-locked lake beds (Hamun-i Puzak, Hamun-i Sabari. Hamun-i Helmand, and Gaud-i Zirreh) which, contrary to popular belief, are fresh, becoming alkaline only when through evaporation (which exceeds ten feet per year in this desert region) they are concentrated in pools.

9. The Bolan Pass was thus represented in several sketches executed by participants in the First Afghan War, but in fact, except for the final ascent, it is a long, meandering, gradual, and generally open route, leading from the low Indus River plain to the Quetta Valley, just over a mile in altitude. See James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghamistan* (London: Henry Graves & Co., 1842) pl. 5.

10. The apricot and apple, especially, flourish in the Quetta Valley. The author refers here to notes made by his father who passed through the Bolan Pass with the Army of the Indus in the spring of 1839.

11. **Karez** (Pashto), or **qanat** (Persian). This system of irrigation is common throughout Persia, Afghanistan, Russian and Chinese Turkistan. The subterranean canal taps the aquifer just below the water table near the base of hills or mountains, and the water is slowly drawn to the surface in the lower valley lands where it is required for irrigating fields. The first and deepest shaft closest to the mountains is called the "mother well." Depths of 100 to 350 feet for these mother wells are relatively common. The deepest one - 1,000 feet - is reputed to be in the vicinity of Gunabad, in eastern Persia. The canal gradient is slight, to inhibit erosion of the channel bed (1:1,000 to 1:1,500 in shorter **karez**, less in longer), and to avoid evaporation the channel is kept underground until the water has reached the desired location. Shafts are sunk at intervals of 50 to 100 feet along the course of

the **karez** during construction, and these provide access for clearing of silt deposits and repair of collapsed sides. Some **karez** are reputed to be extremely ancient, and the longest ones, in excess of twenty miles, are in the vicinity of Kirman and Yazd, in central Persia. Normally they are only a few miles in length. The construction of **karez** requires great skill and the work is restricted to masters, called **muzannis**, who pass on the techniques to their descendants. A good, concise description of **karez** may be found in the **Encyclopaedia of Islam**, new ed., s.v. **Kanat**.

12. The lower stone is stationary. The rotating vertical shaft is united to the upper stone which revolves over the lower stone. Grain is introduced through a hole at the center of the upper stone and by centrifugal force passes over the lower stone, and is thus ground and thrown out as flour from between the two stones. The author's sketch illustrates, as he notes, a geared arrangement somewhat different from the simpler mill described.

13. Neither Baluchistan, nor Khorasan, was at this time an independent political entity, except, in the case of the former especially, ostensibly so. These territories were separated by the region of Sistan which lies in southwestern Afghanistan and extends into eastern Persia, to include the cities of Zabul and Zahedan and their surrounding regions. Khorasan includes territories of northeastern Persia (with Meshed) and northwestern Afghanistan (with Herat) and contiguous portions of Russian Turkistan. The Helmand River in southwestern Afghanistan marks the approximate northern limit of the Baluch who are presently dominant in Afghan Sistan and constitute a substantial minority population in Persian Sistan. The Pishin Lora River, which for a part of its course parallels the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, is within present-day ethnic and linguistic Baluchistan.

14. This is the route followed by the Army of the Indus in 1839, and by the Third Division in 1879, during the Second Afghan War. The Baluch tribes, through whose territory this route lies, harassed both forces and were subjected to punitive expeditions on both occasions.

15. **Sayyid** is, in fact, an honorific assumed by supposed male descendants of the Prophet.

16. The range of hills is the Khwaja Amran, over which the road between Quetta and Kandahar passes by means of the Khojak Pass. This pass is not marked by a break in the range, but crosses over its crest. The Pishin Lora River flows through a defile in this range, but this is not practicable for a road. The railway from Quetta to Chaman on the Afghan border roughly parallels the road and passes through a 12,870-foot-long tunnel at the crest of the range. The railroad through the Bolan Pass between Sibi and Quetta was completed in 1887. The tunnel through the Khwaja Amran Range was begun in 1888 and completed in 1891. It was by far the longest railway tunnel in India. Miss Lal Baha, **N.-W.F.P. Administration under British Rule, 1901-1919** (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), devotes a chapter to the construction of frontier railroads. A second stage in the construction of this rail line was to have carried it over comparatively easy terrain to Kandahar, 68 miles northwest of Chaman, but this was never begun. Until recently, much of Afghanistan's international commerce entering the port of Karachi was delivered to the railhead at Chaman where it was loaded onto trucks for shipment to Kabul or Herat, via Kandahar. But this was not always the case. When the railroad tunnel was officially opened, the Viceroy invited the Amir Abdur Rahman to attend the ceremony, but he refused, writing to ask the Viceroy "whether it was the custom of the English people when they bored a hole in a man's stomach to invite him to

come and see the opening made." (See H. Mortimer Durand, "The Amir Abdur Rahman," *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society*, 6 November 1907, p. 22) Abdur Rahman gave strict orders that Afghan traders were not to use the Chaman route.

17. A legendary Arab romance of unrequited love; hence, the term **majnun** has come to mean "possessed," or "mad." The most famous rendition of the story is that of the 12th-century Persian poet Nizami.

18. The Tarnak River, which flows parallel to the southern portion of the Kabul-Kandahar road, joins the Dori River to the southeast of Kandahar, the latter river joining the Arghandab, principal tributary to the Helmand.

19. The modern city of Kandahar (now reckoned at 31 deg. 27 min. N by 65 deg. 43 min. E, elevation 3,460 feet) was founded by Ahmad Shah Durrani in June 1761. Ahmad Shah, of the Saddozai clan, was the first to rule a unified Afghanistan. What is now called the Old City of Kandahar lies two and one half miles to the southwest of the modern city and was substantially destroyed by the Persian invader Nadir Shah in 1738. British excavations, conducted under the auspices of the Society for Afghan Studies and the Afghan Institute of Archaeology, have established the presence of occupations at this site since prehistoric times.

20. A **sardab**, literally "cold water," semi-subterranean circular chambers with thick mud-brick domes providing insulation. It does not snow every winter in Kandahar, and what snow does fall usually quickly melts. Compacted snow would normally be brought from the mountains immediately north of the city.

21. **Dukh**, a drink made of whey, or watered yogurt, is probably meant.

22. The **Char su**, "four bazaars," where the two axial streets crossed at the center of the city. On Sunday, 2 May 1880, Gunner James Tew and Driver J. Hornby, both of E/B, RHA, were accidentally killed in this bazaar by Gunner James Beddoes, also of E/B, RHA, whose Martini-Henry rifle was carelessly discharged. A General Court Martial sentenced Beddoes to 168 days imprisonment, of which 88 days were subsequently remitted.

23. Local apricots ripen in June.

24. Afghans are fond of birds. Nightingales and chukker partridges are also commonly kept in cages.

25. The palace and fortress inside the walled city served as HQ for the Kandahar Field Force throughout the second phase of the war, 1879-1880, and until the final evacuation by the British in April 1881. A section of the north wall of Kandahar was not demolished until the early 1960's.

26. Creed's opinion of the mausoleum was not shared by all. Brigadier-General Sir Charles MacGregor described it tersely on 6 September 1880 thus: "Saw Ahmed Shah's tomb, dome beautifully proportioned, brick, few inferior tiles inside, architecture good, spoilt by tawdry ornaments" Ahmad Shah Durrani died in 1772.

27. **Hazara** is a Persian term indicating a unit of 1,000 soldiers. It is commonly believed that the Mongol physiognomy of the Hazara peoples testified to their descent from remnants of the 13th-century invading army of Ghengiz Khan, settled in mountainous central Afghanistan. This theory has been cred-

ibly disproven. See H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*, Central Asiatic Studies IV ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962) pp. 110ff.

28. Surely Sar-i Asp (Horse's Head), twelve and one-half miles northeast of Kalat-i Ghilzai. This stage is now marked by one of the numerous abandoned caravanserais along the Kabul-Kandahar road, built during the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman, 1880-1901, and rendered obsolete by the demise of camel caravan traffic following the introduction of truck transport.

29. Such large qalas are particularly common in the Ghazni and Wardak regions and usually contain several households of a clan. H.G. Creed marched along the Kandahar to Ghazni road in July, 1839, not April.

30. The date of this 33-foot-high baked-brick tower, known locally as *Ghashey* (Pashto), and in most Western sources as "Tirandaz," is not precisely known. Legend links it to Ahmad Shah, and on stylistic grounds this seems reasonable. It stands at the edge of the Kandahar plain; from this point the road begins its gradual ascent to Kalat-i Ghilzai and Ghazni.

31. Kalat-i Ghilzai was occupied by British forces during both the First and Second Afghan Wars, and it remains today a functional military base.

32. Ghazni, at 7,186 feet in altitude, was the summer capital during the Ghaznavid Dynasty (A.D. 994-1160); the winter capital was at Lashkari Bazaar on the Helmand River at a warmer altitude of about 2,300 feet. The Ghazni citadel was stormed by British forces 23 July 1839 in one of the most spectacular successes of the First Afghan War, considering the heavy siege guns had wrongly been left at Kandahar by Sir John Keane.

33. Under the allegedly inadequate patronage of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud, the poet Firdawsi completed by A.D. 1010 his collection into a single work the earlier legends of the *Shah Nama*, "Book of Kings," the Iranian national epic.

34. The view that these minarets were constructed during Mahmud's reign continued to be held for more than 100 years. In the 1950's, a French scholar finally read the decorative inscriptions, formed of terra-cotta bricks, and discovered that the minarets were not constructed by Mahmud, but by two of his successors, Sultan Mas'ud III (A.D. 1089-1115) and Sultan Bahram Shah (A.D. 1117-1149), and both were undoubtedly originally associated with separate mosques now lost. The author's estimates of their heights may be fairly accurate. A photograph exists of the earlier minaret, showing the upper drum cracked but standing still to nearly its full original height. The photograph may have been taken during the Second Afghan War, in 1880. See D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967) fig. 145. An anonymous sketch in the National Army Museum (acc. no. 6112-93-2), executed 15 August 1880, shows both minarets preserved still to nearly their full height. When the German intelligence agent Oskar Von Niedermayer photographed one of the minarets in 1915, only the lower polygonal portion remained (*Afghanistan* [Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1924] pl. 124). The author's sketch shows the minarets as they stood in 1839 at the time of the First Afghan War, and is based on James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghanistan*, pl. XV. Today only the lower portion of each is preserved. The author quotes from Firishta (Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Astarabadi), born ca. 1570, historian and writer on Indian medicine.

35. Ghazni has experienced many destructions, but besides the two minarets, a few ancient structures remain: the tomb of Sebuktigin (A.D. 977-997), founder

of the Ghaznavid Dynasty, and father of Sultan Mahmud; the foundations of the palace of Mas'ud III, recently partially excavated by an Italian archaeological mission; the mausoleum of Abdu'l Majid Majdud b. Adam, poet during the reign of Bahram Shah (A.D. 1117-1149); and the earlier remains of a Buddhist sanctuary (Tapa Sardar) which appears to have flourished for several centuries prior to the coming of Islam.

36. Presently about 45 miles in circumference; altitude 6,890 ft.

37. There is, however, a large variety of smaller aquatic forms living in the lake. A species of flamingo (*Phoenicepterus ruber roseus*) breeds in this area during the spring. The lake freezes over during the winter.

38. A popular but unfounded belief (see n.40). The tomb and its surround are essentially unchanged today, except that a paved road passes by it and the "wretched houses" have been cleared away from the main approach, and a new gate constructed. Lieutenant James Rattray, 2nd Grenadiers, Bengal Army, sketched the interior of this tomb chamber, including its fabled wooden doors, in 1842, when Major-General William Nott's force passed through Ghazni on its way to Kabul from Kandahar at the end of the war: **The Costumes of the Various Tribes, Portraits of Ladies of Rank, Celebrated Princes and Chiefs, Views of the Principal Fortresses and Cities, and Interior of the Cities and Temples of Afghani-stan, from original drawings** (London: Hering & Remington, 1848) pl. X. The beautiful translucent travertine tombstone is preserved, but the modest mausoleum is undoubtedly of more recent date. There are unconfirmed reports that the structure was damaged and/or destroyed by Russian artillery during fighting in the Ghazni area in 1980.

39. The author is probably describing plaster architectonic decor similar to that shown on another building in one of his own drawings: p. 127.

40. It was believed that these wooden doors were the gates of the Hindu Temple of Somnath and had formed part of the booty of Sultan Mahmud's conquest of northern India. They were seized by the withdrawing army under General Nott in 1842, at the end of the First Afghan War, and with considerable public display, including a special proclamation by Lord Ellenborough, were "repatriated" to India. The legend was, however, untrue. These doors, in ruinous condition, are today in the National Museum, New Delhi.

41. Trout, in fact, are found in streams north of the crest of the Hindu Kush, but not in the southern streams of the Helmand and Kabul-Indus systems.

42. Contemporary accounts of this arduous march tell a different story. There was much hardship and sickness, and Sir John Keane's leadership was severely criticized by many. The towns mentioned here are some of those passed by H. Creed on both his march from India into Afghanistan, and his return to the Indus.

43. The Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, was murdered 23 December 1841, while attempting to negotiate a plan for the evacuation of Kabul by the British forces. The Army of Retribution, under Major-General George Pollock, destroyed part of the fortifications and the covered bazaar when they retook Kabul in September 1842. Ali Mardan Khan Shamlu was Persian ambassador at Delhi in the mid 18th century.

44. T. Salter Pyne (later Sir Salter Pyne) arrived in Afghanistan in April 1887, at the invitation of Amir Abdur Rahman, to establish state-owned workshops in Kabul. The ~~Mashin-khana~~ (armory and factories, literally "machine

house") was formally established by the Amir 7 April 1887. Greatest emphasis was placed on the manufacture of military commodities, and Martini-Henry and Snider rifles, cartridges, gunpowder, and musical instruments for military Bands, were produced. Pyne was, in fact, only one of a number of foreigners employed by the Amir in these early efforts to modernize Afghanistan. Pyne remained in the country, off and on, for at least seven years, and the factories constructed under his direction still remain, as "Government Monopolies," in Kabul. See V. Gregorian, **The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969) p. 143; **The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan**, ed. by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan (London: John Murray, 1900) vol. II, pp. 22ff., discusses the foreign-assisted development program; A. Hamilton, **Afghanistan** (London: William Heinemann, 1906) pp. 389ff. discusses foreign assistance in the 1880's and 1890's, and on p. 394 gives the full list of foreign advisers. Mr. E. Thornton, who assisted in establishing a tannery at Kabul, left an account of his experiences: **Leaves from an Afghan Scrapbook** (London: John Murray, 1910). Another account was written by J. A. Gray who served as surgeon to the Amir: **At the Court of the Amir** (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1895).

45. This small mosque was restored by Italian archaeologists and architects under the direction of B. C. Bono, 1964-66. Babur lived A.D. 1483-1530, and was the first in the line of alien Mogul rulers of India. He had requested burial in his native Afghanistan.

46. Plans to restore these once magnificent gardens to their 16th-century condition have not been carried out. See M.T.S. Parpagliolo, **Kabul: The Bagh-i Babur**, IsMEO, Centri Restauri, Restorations, vol. II (Rome, 1972). This book contains early photographs of the gardens as well as several sketches made by mid 19th-century British visitors, e.g., J. Atkinson, **Sketches in Afghaunistan**, pls. XXIII and XXIV.

47. The Minar-i Chakri is a masonry column, 85 feet high (originally slightly higher), belonging to the Buddhist period (probably 3rd or 4th century), and is believed to have been crowned with the Buddhist **chakri**, or wheel, symbol of the Buddhist law, or with a tiered stone umbrella. It stands not on a peak, but on the crest of a pass between ancient Buddhist monastic communities in the valleys below. It was restored in the late seventies by conservators employed by the British Society for Afghan Studies.

48. The tope, or stupa, is not a tumulus as the author (and many early writers) supposed, except in a symbolic sense. It is their domical form which doubtless accounts for his impression of these as tomb mounds. Each stupa contains within its solid core one or more small chambers in which reliquaries were placed at the time of construction. These reliquaries often contained what was believed to be a small physical remain of the historical Buddha, together with other precious objects, such as gold coins, or jewels. Many of these stupas were opened by Charles Masson, and others, in the 1830's, and H.H. Wilson based his pioneering historical work **Ariana Antiqua** (London: Court of Directors of The Honourable the East India Company, 1841) primarily on Masson's numismatic finds. Some of these early finds are now in the British Museum. The stupas immediately below the Minar-i Chakri are those near the village of Shewaki, ten miles southeast of Kabul.

49. On this last point, the author's Afghan informant is substantially correct. The degree off vertical of the earth's axis, varying from year to year, is normally expressed as 23 deg. 30 min. This, and the other astronomical data, would have been available to learned Afghans in various Arabic works.

50. **Kotab** (**qutb**) by itself means (among other things) "Pole Star." **Tarah**, or **tarah**, refers to distance, or distant places, while **qutb tarah** can mean cupola, or by analogy, the Heavens.

51. The author here digresses into a discussion of Baluchistan at the time of the First Afghan War. The successful storming of Kalat in Baluchistan, not to be confused with Kalat-i Ghilzai on the Kabul-Kandahar road in Afghanistan, occurred 13 November 1839 (see n.4).

52. Though Quetta is the capital of the present Pakistani province of Baluchistan, Kalat traditionally is viewed as the capital and the Khan of Kalat as the principal political figure of the region. The town, with the Khan's palace on a high mound, has changed little in appearance.

53. At the time, there were communities of Hindus, Sikhs, Jews, and Armenian Christians living at Kabul.

54. Up to this point, the author has briefly described the principal route through Baluchistan to Kandahar in Afghanistan, and from Kandahar to Kabul. He is now describing the route from Kabul eastward to the Khyber Pass, the route followed by the retreating British forces in January 1842. As with what has preceded, the information is partly derived from H.G. Creed's notes, and partly from R.J.G. Creed's personal experience and later reading.

55. The British and Indian force of some 16,500 souls, including families and camp followers, departed Kabul 6 January 1842, under improbable guarantees of safe passage hurriedly negotiated chiefly by Major Eldred Pottinger, Political Officer in charge, on 1 January, following the murder of Sir William Macnaghten the previous month. The British and Indian force was immediately attacked by the Afghans led by Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mohammad Khan who had in 1839 been supplanted on the Afghan throne by the British client Shah Shuja. Assistant Surgeon William Brydon reached Jalalabad 13 January. At least one other European is recorded as having reached Jalalabad - a merchant named Barnes - but he died soon thereafter from his wounds. The number of Indian troops and camp followers who survived is unknown. Some reached Jalalabad; others were taken prisoner and became the property of their captors; still others disappeared into the Indian community at Kabul. A number of English families were held as captives by Akbar Khan, and these were released unharmed later in 1842 when General Pollock's Army of Retribution had retaken Kabul. The Kabul Cantonment was looted by the Afghans only after the army had departed. Pottinger, one of the hostages, was subsequently criticized for the terms of the hastily negotiated and quickly violated treaty, but in truth he was not in favor of accepting it. His hand was forced by his military superiors at Kabul, only one of whom (Brigadier Shelton) survived to offer explanations. The author's account of this celebrated event is much abbreviated. The most powerful and absorbing account is still Lady Sale's, *A Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan, 1841-2* (London: John Murray, 1843).

56. The Safed Koh Range forms the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan to the south of the Khyber Pass. The forests on the lower slopes of these mountains, evident in many photographs taken during the Second Afghan War, have been severely depleted by uncontrolled cutting. While some of the wood is used in Afghanistan, much is exported to Pakistan.

From this point in the manuscript, the author relies primarily upon his own observations made during his service in the first phase of the Second Afghan War, from the autumn of 1878 till the summer of 1879. Occasionally

these observations are augmented by information published between this time and the compilation of this memoir at the end of the century.

57. The unit of weight designated by ~~seer~~ varies in accordance with time and place. In 19th-century India the ~~seer~~ was roughly equivalent to two pounds.

58. Beaten husks and straw widely used for cattle feed.

59. ~~Moochy~~, a leather worker, shoemaker, or saddler.

60. ~~Salootree~~, ~~salustre~~, a native farrier, or horse-doctor, usually a Muslim.

61. A force under General Robert Sale was camped here in November 1841 when news of the November uprising at Kabul reached it. After some deliberation it was determined that a return to Kabul would likely be impossible and that they should press on to Jalalabad. Here this small force was besieged by Akbar Khan from January until 7 April 1842 when, in a daring sortie, the defenders drove off the Afghans and lifted the siege a few days before General Pollock's army, marching up from Peshawar, reached them.

62. "Hill near Gundamak, where the 44th Foot Made Their Last Stand, January, 1842," drawing by W. Simpson, *Illustrated London News*, 28 June 1879, p. 601. The Royal Anglian Regiment possesses an excellent oil painting (on loan to the National Army Museum) by W.B. Wollen, depicting the final struggle of the 44th Regiment on this hill.

63. Probably an open, steep-sided irrigation canal (~~jui~~) is meant.

64. Such an attitude, frankly expressed in one way or another several times by the author, strikes us today as intolerant and extreme, but it was widely shared at the time by many who fervently believed that only the vicious and intractable nature of the Afghan tribesman, in rejecting the benefits to be conferred by Western civilization, prevented the development of his potentially rich land. These are matters of time, circumstance, and viewpoint, as the Russians, in their turn, are doubtless discovering. Surgeon Joshua Duke probably expressed the feelings of many of the British troops when he wrote: "... most of us hated Kabul, Afghanistan, and Afghans generally" (*Recollections of the Kabul Campaign, 1879 & 1880* [London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1883] p. 337).

65. Since the author appears never personally to have visited Baluchistan, Kandahar, or Kabul, material relating to these places is presumed to have been incorporated from his father's notes or diary. From this point to the end of the first chapter, the author describes events and activities of the spring of 1879, following the campaigns of the first phase of the war during the late autumn and winter of 1878-79, when he had entered Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass region. The first few pages of the second chapter describe the signing of the treaty ending (temporarily) hostilities in May 1879, and the retirement of most of the British forces from Afghan territory during June and July. The author then turns back chronologically to describe his activities during the earlier part of the campaign, beginning with the expiration of the ultimatum to the Amir Sher Ali on 20 November 1878. From this date, with numerous digressions, the account proceeds more or less chronologically.

66. John Burke was a professional photographer who had worked on contract for the Government of India from time to time during the 1860's and 1870's. In 1878 he appears to have had studios in partnership with a Mr. Baker at

Peshawar and Murree. In March 1879 the Government wrote to Burke, inviting him to join the Peshawar Valley Field Force. Burke responded affirmatively on 4 April, setting forth his conditions of employment along the lines of past contracts, and before receiving confirmation set off for the front, fearing that a delay might cause him to miss entirely the campaign which had begun the preceding November. By the time the Government's refusal of his terms, dated 19 April, reached him, Burke was already in the field. His response of 25 April expressed his disappointment with this decision, and announced his intention to "return to India after visiting Gundamak." He must have returned to Peshawar with the P.V.F.F. in June 1879, but with the renewal of hostilities in September, he returned to Afghanistan where he stayed at Kabul until mid April 1880. Upon his return to the Punjab in the spring heat, he proceeded to his studios, still held in partnership with Mr. Baker, on The Mall in Murree, across from the post office, and there arranged 347 of his photographs into albums which he advertised for sale in printed catalogues. Burke was not the only photographer to cover the war; the firm of Bourne and Shepherd had sent a photographer (whose work did not wholly satisfy them) before Burke arrived on the scene, and later, after the conclusion of the war in September 1880, B. Simpson visited Kandahar on behalf of this same firm. The Bengal Sappers and Miners were equipped with photographic apparatus and some of their excellent work was subsequently privately published: Lieutenant-Colonel E.T. Thackeray, **Views of Kabul and Environs from pictures taken by the Photograph School of Bengal Sappers and Miners ...** (London, 1881). Contemporary accounts mention several amateur photographers active during the war, but little of their work is known. Burke's corpus of photographs is by far the most impressive. He was still active in 1890 when he moved his studio to Lahore.

67. **Dandy**, a strong cloth strung like a hammock to a bamboo staff, and carried by two, or more, men; **dhoolie**, a covered litter, suspended from a bamboo pole, and carried by two, or more, men.

68. Fort Battye was named after Major Wigram Battye, Queen's Own Corps of Guides, who was killed during an engagement at Futtehabad 2 April 1879. "Funeral of Maj. Battye at Jelalabad," **The Graphic**, 10 May 1879, p. 453. See also the excellent sketch by W. Simpson entitled "Death of Wigram Battye in the Battle of Futtehabad," in the **Illustrated London News**, 16 August 1879, p. 148f. At the left in this drawing is Lieutenant W.R.P. Hamilton in the action for which he was subsequently awarded the Victoria Cross.

69. Russian porcelain was highly esteemed in Afghanistan, especially that produced by the factory established by the Scotsman Francis Gardner in 1766 at Verbilki, outside Moscow. The Gardner production included many Imperial commissions. Fine pieces were still to be found in Kabul antique shops in the 1960's, and they were much sought after by foreign residents. The Gardner factory was sold in 1892 to the M. S. Kuznetsov Combine which probably continued to use the Gardner mark until its closure in 1917. See M. Ross, **Russian Porcelains** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

70. The climate of the Jalalabad region is favorable for the production of fine oranges much admired throughout the country.

71. Piper's Hill is a rock outcrop 300 yards from the southwest bastion of Jalalabad. It acquired this name from the fact that, during the early days of the siege of General Sale's force in this city, in January 1842, an Afghan was in the habit of taunting the British troops by cavorting on the crest of these rocks, playing a flute (some say bagpipes), believing himself to be beyond the range of the British rifles. He was soon brought down (according

to most sources) by a marksman, but he was commemorated by the name assigned by the British troops to the rocks upon which he had performed. See a sketch of Piper's Hill in *The Graphic*, 22 February 1879, p. 169. This cemetery must be that for soldiers who were killed near Jalalabad during the retreat of the army from Kabul, and for those who died here after the siege was raised in April 1842. Land outside the walls of the contracted town was not controlled by the besieged force, and the dead were buried inside the city. General Elphinstone was buried under a bastion in the Jalalabad city wall which was subsequently demolished to protect his grave under a mound of rubble. A sketch of the cemetery at Jalalabad was made by W. Simpson: *Illustrated London News*, 13 September 1879, p. 232.

72. It is unlikely that the Afghans desecrated Christian burials in the expectation of loot, since they were not themselves accustomed to burying valuables with the dead. Such desecration, fairly widespread to judge from several reports from different parts of the country, more likely stemmed from the fanatical wish to expunge heathens from their soil.

73. Afghanistan has long constituted a ready market for second-hand clothing; particularly favored are surplus, or discarded, military uniforms. In the 1970's one could see displayed for sale in Kabul, in what was then called the "Nixon Bazaar" (after the American president), military and non-military uniforms from virtually every Western nation. There was no need for tailors, who devoted their efforts chiefly to rendering local versions of current Italian civilian fashions, to copy uniforms, so plentiful was the supply of the genuine article.

74. *Posteens*, long sheepskin coats with the fleece on the inside, the hide frequently ornamented with embroidered patterns in colored thread; *puggeries*, turbans.

75. It has been impossible to confirm this implausible tale. One of Yakub Khan's wives was an Afghan-Iranian, and the author may have mistaken "Iranian" for "American." This would help to explain the subsequent marriage of one of Yakub's daughters to the Iranian Crown Prince.

76. Crown Prince Muzaffar ud-Din, of the Qajar Dynasty, became Shah 8 June 1896, and reigned until his death 4 January 1907.

77. Not tumuli, but Buddhist stupas (see n.48). The Jalalabad region is particularly rich in Buddhist monastic remains. The principal trade route between the north of India and China, along which Buddhism traveled from the former to the latter, passed through the Jalalabad region.

78. This is partly fancy. The main (larger) stupa of a particular religious center is frequently surrounded by numerous smaller stupas subscribed by pilgrims. Tapa Ashrak, to judge from Charles Masson's drawing (in Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, Chapt. 2, pl. VII), is neither a stupa, nor a tumulus, but a square fortress tower, with sharply battered sides typical of defensive architecture in this region in the early centuries of our era. Masson also believed that Tapa Ashrak, along with many smaller mounds in the Jalalabad area, was a tumulus. It lies about four miles east of the old city walls.

79. Residential and assembly caves were typical of Buddhist monastic communities in the early centuries of our era all along the trade route between northern India and China. There are several groups of these between Jalalabad and the Khyber Pass. They were, of course, not occupied by Islamic *mullahs*, but by earlier Buddhist priests and monks. Buddhist monastic estab-

lishments, though much reduced in size following the Hephtalite invasion in the mid fifth century, continued to exist for some time after the coming of Islam in the late seventh and eighth centuries.

80. Sultanpur, about 9 miles east of Jalalabad.

81. Pesh Bolak, a town and valley to the southeast of Jalalabad.

82. Azes, a ruler of the Saka dynastic house dominant in southwestern Afghanistan and in the N.W. Frontier region of Pakistan; chronology of the Saka reigns is obscure, but Azes may be placed in the earlier half of the first century B.C.

83. Between 1834 and 1837 Charles Masson conducted highly rewarding excavations at Hadda and other localities, financed by the East India Company. The report of his work, together with lists and illustrations of some of his finds, is contained in Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*. Major excavation campaigns were later conducted at Hadda by the French archaeological mission in the 1920's, and by the Afghan Institute of Archaeology in the 1960's and 1970's. For contemporary drawings of Buddhist caves and stupas at Hadda, see *The Graphic*, 5 April 1879, p. 344; *Illustrated London News*, 19 April 1879, p. 360, by W. Simpson; 26 July 1879, p. 96, by W. Simpson. Simpson later published an article on the Buddhist remains in the Jalalabad region: "Buddhist Architecture in the Jellalabad Valley," *Transactions of the British Institute of Architecture*, 1879-1880 (London, 1880) pp. 37-64.

84. This tragedy was widely reported at the time. "The loss of the 10th Hussars was one officer (Lieutenant F.H. Harford), three sergeants, one farrier, forty-two rank and file, and thirteen horses. Most of the bodies found were wounded about the head, apparently by kicks received [from the horses] in the struggle in the water." (*The Afghan War, Abridged Official Account*, p. 63f.) See also *The Graphic*, 10 May 1879, p. 452f., and W. Simpson's drawings in the *Illustrated London News*, 17 May 1879, pp. 457, 464-5.

85. Standard punitive action was to demolish the towers found in every village considered hostile in the country around the Khyber. See sketch by W. Simpson, *Illustrated London News*, 29 March 1879, p. 287.

86. Dost Mohammad Khan enjoyed a better reputation than is here implied. It is also untrue that he was murdered; he died of natural causes June 1863, after a long and distinguished reign. He was succeeded by his son Sher Ali Khan with whom the British eventually were to be as unhappy as they had been with the father.

87. The Indian monsoon does not actually extend to Afghanistan, but is blocked by the mountain ranges along the Afghan border. Intermittent heavy rains occur mainly between October and April and may be especially heavy in March and April. Rice paddies depend less upon rain than upon irrigation.

88. With articulated flails, or simply wooden staffs.

89. A curious omission, for ovens (*tandur*) were surely common. The baking process the author describes is generally employed as an expedient when traveling, or when residing for a short time at a camp. Every permanent village and town would certainly have had properly constructed bread ovens.

90. There are exceedingly fine grapes in Afghanistan, especially in the Kabul

area, but the small quantity of wine produced has, to my taste, been distinctly inferior. The potential, however, remains great.

91. This refreshment, concocted in the same manner, is still popular during the hot season.

92. These fowl were probably kept to enhance enjoyment of the setting, and the shooting of them could not have pleased the local inhabitants.

93. The grave mounds are often merely mud and frequently subside so that no apparent grave is discernible.

94. Prayers are conducted in the Id Gah to celebrate the end of Ramazan, the month of fasting.

95. John Burke photographed this assembly at Gandamak.

96. "... a tall, wiry-looking, youthful man of aquiline features. He speaks English very well, considering the little intercourse which he has had with people from our nation He is described by some officers as exceedingly childish and silly in his conversation, evincing enfeebled faculties, due, it is said, to his long and severe imprisonment by his father, the Ameer Shere Ali Khan." (*The Graphic*, 7 February 1880) He was reckoned to be about thirty years old, but to some he appeared to be considerably older.

97. Wali Mohammad, half brother of the late Amir Sher Ali. He cooperated with the British occupying force, and some hoped he might be given control of a part of Afghanistan, should the country be divided. John Burke photographed him at Kabul; portrait by W. Simpson, *Illustrated London News*, 16 August 1879, p. 153.

98. See illustration in *The Graphic*, 26 July 1879, p. 93.

99. A fortified mountain top commanding a section of the Khyber Pass. It was taken by the Peshawar Valley Field Force, under Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Browne, 22 November 1878, and was refortified as a British base. It figured prominently in the First Afghan War as well.

100. Photographed by John Burke. The pageant was especially grand as it was intended to impress Yakub Khan who, the following day, signed the treaty ending the first phase of the war.

101. Brevet Major E.J. de Lautour commanded No.4 Mountain Battery, with the Peshawar Valley Field Force.

102. Gatling guns were manufactured in Britain under licence by Sir William G. Armstrong and Company, and those used in the Afghan campaign were either the 1874 or 1877 model. These guns were first used on the Indian frontier in the Jewaki campaign of 1878. Two were brought with the army into Afghanistan, but were apparently of little use. Hensman, *The Afghan War*, p. 143, complains of their unreliability. A photographer (B. Simpson ?) employed by the famous firm of Bourne and Shepherd photographed these two guns with their crews in Afghanistan in the autumn of 1878 (National Army Museum, accession no. 5504/42, p. 28, neg. no. 6315). It is curious that these guns were not more extensively used since, by 1876, "the Russians had 400 Gatlings organized in eight batteries. They were used quite extensively in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78." (J. Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* [New York: Pantheon Books, 1975] p. 66) The gun was named after its American

inventor Richard Jordan Gatling, whose first model was produced in 1861, during the Civil War. He was motivated by humanitarian feelings toward the many wounded who died by sickness incident to the service. "It occurred to me that if I could invent a machine — a gun — that would by its rapidity of fire enable one man to do as much battle duty as a hundred, that it would to a great extent, supersede the necessity of large armies, and consequently exposure to battle and disease would be greatly diminished." (Gatling, in a letter of 1877, quoted *ibid.*, p. 27) It fired 200 rounds per minute.

103. Both the older Snider and the newer Martini-Henry rifles were used in the war. It was said that the Snider bullet was slow, the Martini-Henry fast. One had time to duck after seeing the puff of smoke from a Snider 600 yards off, but not so from a Martini-Henry. (J. Duke, *Recollections of the Kabul Campaign*, p. 306)

104. The Amir was also much amused by John Burke's photographic apparatus and posed for the photographer in "his gorgeous uniform of white and gold." "He was photographed with his helmet on, and then with it off, and when bare-headed the Ameer presented a curious likeness to the Duke of Edingurgh — all the more striking as he parts his hair down the middle." (*The Graphic*, 12 July 1879, p. 27)

105. The Kabul Embassy was composed of about 83 men (accounts vary slightly) who had entered Kabul 24 July 1879, and occupied quarters within the Bala Hissar: Envoy, Minister, and Plenipotentiary Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.I.E., B.S.C.; his Political Secretary, Mr. William Jenkyns of the Bengal Civil Service; Surgeon Ambrose Hamilton Kelly of the Bengal Medical Department; and a military escort of 80 men from the Corps of Guides under the command of Lieutenant Walter Richard Pollock Hamilton, V.C. The attack on the Residency occurred on 3 September 1879. The British and all of the Guides escort, save nine who were on grass-cutting detail at the time, were killed in the assault. Cavagnari's body was never recovered. Some writers maintain that Cavagnari had not taken adequate and prudent precautions to safeguard his small mission. Only Cavagnari's Chinese pug-dog, "Patty," survived the attack on the Residency. "She was found by an Armenian spirit-seller disconsolately wandering about the city; and when General Roberts entered Cabul with his avenging army, she was given up to the British Staff, and ... sent hence to Lady Cavagnari." The dog had been a gift from Major Wigram Battye some six years before. (*Illustrated London News*, 9 October 1880, p. 363) The *Kabul Memorial at Mardan* gives the names of 69 natives of the Guides (21 Cavalry and 48 Infantry). See *History of the Guides, 1846-1922*, vol. I (Aldershot: Gale & Polden, Ltd., 1938) pp. 90ff., for one account.

106. To have assassinated the Amir at Gandamak would have brought about no less a war, but it would certainly have been a different one.

CHAPTER TWO

1. The dates given here are somewhat puzzling. The Treaty was ratified by the Viceroy at Simla, 30 May 1879, and received back at Safed Sang on 6 June. The celebration on 31 May would probably have marked receipt of news of the signing.

2. The provision of the Treaty of Gandamak which established the right of the British to maintain an Envoy at Kabul was especially difficult for the Afghans to accept. If there was any single catalyst propelling the two

countries toward the more serious and protracted hostilities which were to follow, it was the early exercise of this privilege in the form of the Cavagnari mission to Kabul. This step having been taken, it could hardly have ended differently. It was only a matter of when, not if, and Cavagnari seemed to have understood this. That others also knew, is an almost inescapable conclusion.

3. The concept of a "Scientific Frontier" was much debated at the time. While some believed it advisable to annex all of Afghanistan to the Indian Empire, others wished to include within this frontier most of the land south of the Hindu Kush. There were many protesting very strongly against any military adventure into Afghanistan, but the Beaconsfield government was more attracted to the strategies of the "Forward Policy" proponents.

4. Lieutenant-General Sir F.S. Roberts, for one, felt most keenly that a vital military resolution had not been achieved by the Treaty of Gandamak and the occupation of a small amount of Afghan territory. He believed it was necessary to deliver a far more decisive military defeat to the Afghans if the security of a "Scientific Frontier" was to be assured. As it turned out, he had not long to wait.

5. Kitmutgar, a Muslim table servant.

6. For sure, but Muslims do not normally handle food at meals with the left hand. The author's recollections may not be accurate on this point.

7. According to the *Hijra Qamari* (lunar calendar). The reckoning is curiously expressed, since the excursion was presumably made in June 1879.

8. In addition to the telegraph, which was dismantled following the ratification of the Treaty, heliography was much used during the campaign. It was developed in the late 1850's and early 1860's, was adopted by the Government of India in 1875, and first employed in the Jewaki-Afridi Expedition of 1877-78, and in the campaigns in Zululand and Afghanistan. See Major A.S. Wynne, "Heliography and Army Signalling Generally," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, vol. XXIV (1880) pp. 235-258, for an excellent account of the early construction and operation of the instrument in the Second Afghan War. "Clouds are of course a serious hindrance, and usually an effectual barrier to heliography, but to limited distances the flash from a mirror is capable of penetrating any ordinary haze, smoke, translucent clouds, or dust." (Wynne, p. 243) This same author (p. 244) reports its routine use to transmit messages over distances of twenty to thirty miles, and gives no instance of transmission in excess of 38 miles. Duke, *Recollections*, p. 323, remarks that with proper elevation and clear air, the heliograph was used over distances of "upwards of fifty miles." *The Graphic*, 30 November 1878, p. 548: "British Troops Signalling with the Heliograph."

9. Transport problems were especially acute during the first phase of the war, but continued as a source of annoyance during the early months of renewed hostilities in the summer and autumn of 1879.

10. This procedure was correct, and if strictly adhered to, would have much reduced the incidence of cholera.

11. An illustration by W. Simpson of such a raft appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, 3 May 1879, p. 416.

12. Cholera, though gradually diminishing, was not actually absent from

London. There had been a major cholera epidemic in London in 1848, and it was still known to occur in 1879.

13. The author here begins to recount chronologically the events of the first phase of the Second Afghan War in which he took active part. The immediate cause of the war was the refusal, on 21 September 1878, on the part of the Afghans to allow the mission led by Sir Neville Chamberlain to pass beyond the fort of Ali Musjid in the Khyber Pass. This mission had been despatched hurriedly upon receipt of intelligence that a Russian mission had been received by the Amir Sher Ali at Kabul only slightly before. An ultimatum was sent to the Amir and, "no reply having been received within the period of grace which expired on the 20th November, 1879 [sic, 1878], war was declared against Sher Ali Khan on the following day." (**The Second Afghan War, Abridged Official Account**, p. 2) Since preparations for the anticipated campaign had been in progress the preceding two years, and the British and Indian forces were already massed along the frontier, it may be wondered if diplomacy was really expected to succeed. Sher Ali fled to the north of Afghanistan, and shortly thereafter died. He was succeeded by his son Yakub Khan, with whom the British were to conclude the Treaty of Gandamak and to wage the second and longer phase of the war.

14. Fort Jamrud, today still a military post (more of romance than reality), stands about two miles from the entrance to the Khyber Pass. Brigadier-General J.A. Tytler, C.B., V.C., Bengal Staff Carps, died of pneumonia brought on by exhaustion, following the Afghan campaigns, 14 February 1880. The place names mentioned in the actions against the fort at Ali Musjid appear on Map 1 of **The Second Afghan War, Abridged Official Account**.

15. A flanking operation.

16. This sketch did not appear in the **Illustrated London News**. The newspaper did, however, publish a Simpson sketch entitled "Special Correspondents Sleeping on the Battle-Field, Night Before the Attack on Fort Ali Musjid," on the front page 4 January 1879. Shown are Phil Robinson (**Daily Telegraph**), William Simpson, and Archibald Forbes.

17. **Khel**, subunit of a tribe; a clan.

18. Considering the vulnerability of the telegraph wire, it is remarkable that communications were seldom broken for any length of time during the war. Telegraph lines eventually connected Kabul and Kandahar to India, but there was no line between these two cities.

19. The **chenar**, or plane tree, frequently occurs as part of a village name.

20. Probably a symbolic gesture signifying that the village has not been abandoned, but only temporarily evacuated, and that possession of it is retained.

21. "Mahomed Shah, Khan of Lalpoora, and his Attendants," **The Graphic**, 11 January 1879, p. 28; "Chiefs of Lallpoora on Their Way to Dakka to Tender Their Submission," **The Graphic**, 15 February 1879, p. 145. The village of Lalpura lies directly across the Kabul River from Dakka.

22. The Khyber Pass was chosen for the rail line commenced in 1920, and service on this line was inaugurated 2 November 1925. Its terminus was at Landi Kotal, just short of the Afghan border. See V. Bayley, **Permanent Way through the Khyber** (London: Jarrolds, 1934) for an account of the building of

this line. The only railway ever laid in Afghanistan was a narrow guage line, for which two German engines and several passenger cars were procured. It was promoted by King Amanullah in the late 1920's, and was to provide transport between Kabul and his new capital site at Dar-ul-Aman, six miles to the west. The line was never completed and the two decrepit engines are still housed in a shed at Dar-ul-Aman.

23. **Daily News**, 28 January 1879, p. 5f. The letter is five columns in length; the quotation here is extracted from the last column, on p. 6. Minor errors in the author's transcription have been corrected.

24. There were several officers named Cook, but the officer named here is probably Captain J. Cook, 27th P.N.I., under Brigadier-General J.A. Tytler. There also were several officers named Kinloch, and the identity in this case is uncertain.

25. The award was not conferred.

26. The British Government steam paddle transport "Birkenhead," 1,400 tons, struck an uncharted rock off Danger Point, in False Bay, about 50 miles from Cape Town, on 26 February 1852, and sank within 25 minutes. 193 persons were rescued, 445 drowned. £240,000 in gold, destined for the army engaged in the Eighth Kaffir War, was lost. C. Hocking, **Dictionary of Disasters at Sea during the Age of Steam**, vol. I (Crawley: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1969) p. 85f.

27. The manuscript contains a number of marginal comments in French by an unidentified reader who may have been the author's maternal uncle, Colonel Raoul de Bourbel, RE, who served under Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Biddulph for a while in the spring of 1879. The majority of these marginalia concern the author's organization of the memoir and the absence of specific dates; a few are of more general interest, and these I have given in translation in the notes. Against this paragraph, the commentator has written: "It is not like this in the German Army, where they never economise on what is necessary; I do not even think that it is like this in the French Army where, since 1870, everything that can be done with money has been done."

28. The commentator (preceding note) writes: "Were there not some riders to keep contact between the main body and the rear guard?"

29. To produce a fragmenting shot, fired into the darkness at unseen targets.

30. The following story celebrates the conquest of Ahmad Shah Durrani of the Afghan lands held by Mogul rulers.

31. Major Creed was living in nearby Westbourne Park Road (W.2) when this memoir was composed.

32. Yazidi is the name of a Kurd tribal group and of their peculiar religion. There are probably no more than 50,000 of them today. It has been said of them that they are devil worshippers, since God is good and requires no propitiating. Actually, in their syncretic religion which contains elements of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, and other beliefs, Satan is regarded as an angel fallen into disgrace. They do not believe in hell and deny the existence of evil. They are, of course, anathema to orthodox Muslims.

33. Since "Barikao" and "Barikab" are synonymous toponyms, it is uncertain

what is intended here.

34. Atrocities were committed on both sides. The Afghans frequently mutilated the dead, and there is one record of their having exploded gunpowder stuffed into the mouth of a private of the 92nd Highlanders (Duke, *Recollections*, p. 258). In his *Autobiography*, W. Simpson records (p. 284) that, to discourage *ghazi* (religious fanatics) attacks, the British hanged some in pigskin hoods so that they would be defiled at death and not be received into Paradise as they had been assured. Cavagnari himself presided over the execution of a Muslim *ghazi* and the subsequent burning of the body, a Hindu practice considered by Muslims an indignity to the deceased. See *Illustrated London News*, 8 February 1879. The unpublished diary of Brigadier-General Sir C.M. MacGregor contains the following entry under 14 November 1879: "There is a devil of a row going on with [Surgeon-Major J.] Bourke, who wrote in the paper that he had seen some wounded set on fire. It appears that this is true, and I think, the more you stir it, the nastier it will become."

35. See Colonel D. R. Martin, *Further Postal History of the Second Afghan War*, The Postal History Society, Special Series Publications, No. 12 [London?, ca. 1961]. Problems with the mail must have been chronic. See Major J.A.S. Colquhoun, *With the Kurram Field Force, 1878-79* (London: W.H. Allen, 1881) p. 343.

36. Quite possibly the Afghan believed he was being left with one man who was to serve as unofficial, but condoned, executioner, and, as it turned out, this proved to be the case.

37. Lieutenant Walter Richard Pollock Hamilton, who perished at Kabul with the Cavagnari mission, had already earned a V.C. in the Afghan War. Frederic Villiers who, according to his own account, offered his services as special artist to *The Graphic* while walking off "a fit of dyspeptic melancholia" with which he had been seized while working in the British Museum (vol. I, p. 12), records Hamilton's unlikely introduction to active service at Jalalabad, in Villiers; *His Five Decades of Adventure* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1920) vol. I, p. 162:

Battye puffed at his cheroot vigorously.

"Hamilton," said he, "you have never seen a fight. If one comes to-night you shall go in my place -- for some of ours must stay, so we can't both leave the camp."

"By Jove!" responded Hamilton. "It's awfully good of you. Many thanks. Why, here's an orderly from the general coming up the lines."

In another moment Battye had read the chit, and hastily turning to his subaltern said: "Take fifty of ours and join Utterson. You'll have a good chance of getting in with that 'sword arm' of yours, I hope, before sunrise."

Hamilton was awarded the V.C. for action on 2 April 1879, in the Battle at Futtehabad, where his friend Major Wigram Battye was killed.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Puckall mules, mules carrying leather water bags.

2. The caves were, almost certainly, those of an earlier Buddhist monastery. Such re-use of Buddhist caves is still common in the region between Jalalabad and the Khyber Pass where there are so many cave groups.

3. Probably Pashto-speaking Kochi nomadic tribesmen, many of whom pass the summers in pastures in the Hindu Kush and winters in the Indus Valley lowlands.
4. The meaning is unclear here. There is no indication that the residents of the village had received prior warning, or that they would have behaved otherwise if they had. What must have surprised them most, however, was the return of the alleged perpetrators of the crime.
5. Pal, or pawl, a small tent with two light poles, and steep sloping sides, without walls and possibly without ridge-pole.
6. The author means that from both standpoints the large force creates problems.
7. Words within parentheses indicate a change in the sentence, presumably made by the author. Pencilled in the margin is: "After marching six miles we reached."
8. It is difficult to know upon what the author bases this observation. He may have seen areas of greenish copper oxide on the surface.
9. This tactic was especially effective when one man set the light bait and another stood to one side, ready to fire just to one side or the other of the flash from the sentry's gun.
10. This is unlikely. The author is describing another Buddhist monastery cave group. What he describes as "cement" may be either the remains of original lime plaster, or more likely efflorescence of salts on the stone surfaces. I do not know what might have resembled "lead" to him, but it could not have been this metal. It was perhaps a thick coating of shiney dark soot one frequently encounters in these caves, the result of centuries of fires having been burned in them, by the original inhabitants and subsequent occupants and squatters.
11. The author means vaulted.
12. The niche may have held an image, or possibly a lamp, either of which might have been cast in copper, or bronze. But the more likely materials for images in this region were stone, stucco, or simply clay, and for lamps, ceramic.
13. While such superstition might attach to a particular group of caves, elsewhere, as the author himself notes, people incorporated the caves into their houses.
14. Sungar, a rough stone breastwork. The author has added the following matter after the word "sepoys" in the previous sentence: "under Lt. [R.C.] Hart, R.E. Lt. Hart received the Victoria Cross!" The award was conferred for actions while on convoy duty 31 January 1879.
15. The Pashtoon understand that less sophisticated people will wish to gawk at them, and they are perfectly self-possessed at such times.
16. Deposits of coal and iron exist in several localities in Afghanistan. Neither is being commercially mined in the region through which the author was traveling.

17. This passage has not been identified as Quranic. There is no reference to "commerce" in the *Qur'an*. Therefore the attribution remains uncertain.

18. There are only two reasonable possibilities: full, or new, moon. If the rumor originated with Afghans, it would have meant full moon.

19. The events described occurred 7 February 1879, and the officer who plunged into the river to save Private Bromley, only to be swept away himself, was our author, who later received the Royal Humane Society's medal for his action. The author returns later to this subject to describe it in greater detail.

20. The water is so swift, the stones in the stream bed so slippery and unstable, that one feels compelled to look down. But if one does, the rapid motion of the undulating water surface and the dizzying light refraction patterns, quite disturb in many the sense of balance.

21. Payment arrangements vary much in different parts of the country. A share of one-sixth, by most local standards, is uncommonly generous. The custom of always being armed is more prevalent among the Pashtoon tribesmen the author encountered than among some other ethnic groups, e.g., Tajik, Hazara, Baluch, etc.

22. "Flycatcher," probably *M. Tchitrea paradisi* of India.

23. The author served in the Burma Expedition 1887-89, with the 2nd Bn, the Leicestershire Regiment (medal with clasp) and commanded the right wing of his Regiment at Njam-Tipper.

24. Malaria was, and is, especially prevalent in the lower and warmer regions of Afghanistan. Jalalabad, though less infamous in this respect than Kunduz in the north, is one of these areas. The disease was nearly eradicated by the end of the 1960's, but has since then made a substantial return. There are, of course, dozens of "really dangerous diseases" in Afghanistan, but most others do not reach epidemic proportions.

25. ~~Chota-hazry~~, or "little breakfast," taken in early morning before, or after, the morning exercise.

26. This is fable. Given equal virulence of attack, both will be carried off in approximately the same time. Other less visible aspects of general health can, however, affect ability to sustain life for a greater or lesser time.

27. These statements are syntactically confused. Lacking the precise sense of the author's meaning, I have let the sentences stand. Though the disease was yet inadequately understood, the means for prevention (chiefly boiling water in conjunction with general sanitation measures) were certainly well known. It was not, however, always possible to enforce these measures among soldiers, either because providing boiled water was impracticable or impossible, or because not everyone believed in the importance of boiling water where clear, cool streams were at hand.

28. The transition here is abrupt and unexpected. Of course, no stupa is ever literally worth its weight in gold, but it is true that finds of considerable historical importance were made through the excavation of some of the many stupas in this region. Apart from coin legends, very few inscriptions were recovered. It is likewise true that at least some of these finds were deposited in the British Museum.

29. Presumably the author here refers to Field-Marshal 1st Viscount Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, 1895-1900. The Abyssinian campaign to which the author alludes was conducted in 1868, against King Theodore who, for several years, had mistreated and imprisoned British subjects in his land.

30. I have been unable to verify this quotation. The address was not reported in *The Times*.

31. *Kedgeree*, rice cooked with butter and *dal* (any of a variety of pulses) and flavored with a little spice, shredded onion, etc.

32. Charles Masson published the results of his excavations in the 1830's of stupas in the vicinity of Darunta in Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 91-94.

33. Once again, a Buddhist stupa and cave monastery. The "putrid smell" is created by the bats which habitually infest these caves.

34. Captain Edward Pemberton Leach, RE, received the V.C. for leading a charge against superior numbers in the action against the Shinwaris, near Maidanak, 17 March 1879. Captain Leach killed two or three of the enemy, and received a severe knife wound in the left arm.

35. On the composition of this force, see *The Second Afghan War, Abridged Official Account*, pp. 58-60, and map No. 3, facing p. 60.

36. Photographs taken during the first phase of this war, in the mountains along the Afghan border, show heavily forested slopes. By the middle of this century these forests were largely depleted. See Deutsche Forstgruppe Paktia, *Forst in Paktia, Afghanistan*, Bundesstelle für Entwicklungshilfe, Abt. Landwirtschaft (Frankfurt/Main, 1972). It is reckoned that three per cent of the surface area of Afghanistan was once covered by forest; in 1970, forest remained only on one-tenth of one percent.

37. "17th Goorkhas" should be 17th Regiment, or 2nd Goorkhas.

38. *Jirgah*, a council or assembly of tribal leaders.

39. This sentence has been altered by a reader of the MS. It originally read: "The enemy attacked in this way our whole line, and exposed themselves in a most reckless way"

40. Such actions, of course, enraged rather than pacified the Afghans, and confirmed their beliefs concerning *kufirs*, or non-believers. The actions of the British and/or Native troops were not, however, altogether gratuitous. The *mullahs* were definitely active in encouraging the populace to conduct holy war against the invaders, and their zeal undoubtedly accounted for many British casualties.

41. The average rounds expended per man today in a day-long series of engagements, would certainly be several hundred, and could be in excess of 1,000.

42. Unidentified.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The Afghans were, and are, very skilled in the management of several types of farming, including, in the Jalalabad region, rice paddy farming, irrigated crops, orchards, terraced plots. They are skilled also in the management of water, employing dams, weirs, canals, reservoirs, **karez**.
2. The Pashtoon code (**Pashtoonwali**) has been described as one of hospitality and revenge. They have also a proverb: "When the flood water reaches your mouth you put your son under your feet."
3. The mountain ranges along the eastern and southern borders of Afghanistan effectively block the Indian monsoon. Intense heat, high humidity, and intermittent cloud cover, but rarely rain, reach Afghanistan. The season of heaviest rainfall in the Jalalabad area is during the late winter and early spring, before the Indian monsoon reaches the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, along the Afghan border.
4. It must be kept in mind that the author saw only a small part of Afghanistan.
5. This soil contains too much clay.
6. **Bajra** (?), spiked millet, **Pennisetum spicatum**.
7. The author was in Afghanistan from Nov. 1878 till June 1879. Conceivably this is matter from his father's diary. The first falls of rain are much earlier in the Jalalabad region, coming during the late winter. A wet-season crop would suggest January-April as the most likely time.
8. **Jāwars**, **jāwaras**, **jaoār**, **jowār**, **jaorī**, **jaoārī**, **jāoras**, the greater millet, **Sorghum vulgare**.
9. **Raggy**, a kind of grain, **Eleusine coracana**, or **Cynosurus coracanus**.
10. **Toor** (?), but see several possibilities in **Hobson-Jobson**, s.v. **Dhall**.
11. Very fine carpets were produced primarily in the northern provinces. The dyed woven cotton **qilims** are probably referred to here.
12. Two excellent works on the industries and craftwork of Persia and Afghanistan are: H.E. Wulff, **The Traditional Crafts of Persia** (Cambridge, Mass., and London: The M.I.T. Press, 1966) and Yoshida Mitsukuni, **Western Asia at Work, 1964**, Publication of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Iranian Plateau and Hindukush (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1966). The short text of the latter is in Japanese, but the captions to the hundreds of diagrams and photographs are in English.
13. Cast iron arrived late in Europe as well. Iron was cast in China perhaps as early as the 6th century B.C., and shortly after in India. The process did not appear in Europe until nearly 2,000 years later.
14. Pearls, of course, are imported, chiefly from the Persian Gulf, and in consequence are rare and costly.
15. A kind of adze, with a square butt serving as a mallet.
16. This description of wood-working is rather confused. It is more clearly described in Wulff, **The Traditional Crafts of Persia**, pp. 74-101.

17. On 16 October 1879, while Captain Edward D. Shafto, dressed in cricket flannel and soft shoes, was taking inventory of the munitions stored by the Afghans in subterranean chambers of the Kabul Bala Hissar, a spark ignited loose powder and the fortress was wracked by a series of explosions. Some of the British ammunition found there bore the date 1857 and had undoubtedly been stored in this place since the Mutiny. Besides Shafto, 16 men were killed, 11 of the 5th Gurkhas who had just moved their camp into the Bala Hissar, and were sitting down to their noon meal. The best account of this incident is in Duke, *Recollections*, pp. 178-189. To judge by this incident, one would conclude Afghan powder retained its explosive qualities for a considerable period.

18. Quantities of salt sufficient to need were mined by Afghans at several localities. What is generally considered to be the best rock salt in the country is mined near the town of Namak ("salt"), Takhar Province, in the northeast. It is transported to cities in block form and pulverized on hand turned stone mills.

19. Pottery was, in fact, gradually being supplanted by metal vessels. Much fine ceramic was produced by earlier cultures in Afghanistan, from at least the 4th millennium B.C. onward. Today, in all of southwestern Afghanistan, a very limited amount of ceramic is produced only at Kandahar.

20. This type of cart, rare or gone from Afghanistan, is still much used in the lower Indus Valley of Pakistan and is virtually identical to the cart used 4,500 years ago by the Indus Valley Civilization, to judge from small ceramic toy models found at Harrapan sites. The Afghan cart, *karachi*, now uses an automobile axle and wheels and generally is pulled by a man.

21. Substantially correct. During the First Afghan War Colonel Frederick Mackeson constructed a serviceable road into the Khyber Pass from the Peshawar Valley. Road construction has been a major priority in Afghanistan for the last century, and paved roads began to be laid only after the Second World War. Mackeson had been Agent for Navigation of the Indus in 1835 and then Political Agent at Peshawar 1839-1842. In April 1850 he took the Koh-i-Noor diamond to England, after it had nearly been lost by Henry Lawrence. Mackeson served as Commissioner and Superintendent of Peshawar until assassinated on his verandah by an Afghan fanatic in Sept. 1853.

22. The author may as well allude to the disinfectant qualities of this generous sun without which Afghanistan would indeed be a place of great pestilence.

23. Niamatullah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani* (History of the Afghans), composed between A.H. 1018/1609-10 A.D. and A.H. 1021/1613 A.D. The oldest surviving MS. is one dated A.H. 1090/1679 A.D., in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. This work has been translated into English.

24. Niamatullah's *History of the Afghans*, trans. by Nirodbhusan Roy (Santiniketan, West Bengal, 1958) p. 3.

25. It is legendary among Afghans that they are descendants of one of the "lost tribes of Israel." While there is no historical substance to this belief, rock inscriptions belonging to a medieval Jewish community in the remote interior of the country have been found within the last three decades: W. Fischel, "The Rediscovery of the Medieval Jewish Community at Firuzkuh in Central Afghanistan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 85, no. 2 (1965) pp. 148-153, reviews the literature on this fascinating subject.

This Jewish community was not, however, a remnant of pre-historic settlement.

26. The Afghan monuments cited by the author in this somewhat garbled passage are consistent Islamic architectural structures and as such are not related in form or style to pre-Islamic monuments of Egypt or Palestine.

27. Sugar is still produced in this manner. The cones, wrapped in colored foil, are displayed in many bazaar shops. A special small tool is made for chipping pieces of sugar from the cone. The cones are usually about one foot high, or slightly smaller.

28. Astronomy and mathematics were highly advanced in several medieval Islamic centers, but the courts in Afghanistan seldom attracted the most gifted scholars and scientists. It was really only after Copernicus (1473-1543) that Western astronomy made its rapid advances beyond the Islamic science which had developed largely out of the Classical tradition.

29. Masonry bridges were constructed on piers with relatively narrow arch spans. Some of these bridges, such as the long 15th-century Pul-i Malan outside Herat, though often repaired, are still in use, while modern bridges are frequently washed away. In mountainous regions such as Nuristan and Badakhshan, where timber is available, quite remarkable cantilevered bridges are constructed to span rivers too wide for the longest available timber. While corroborative data is lacking, it is possible that the cantilevered bridge may have had its origin in the Himalaya, Karakoram, Hindu Kush area.

30. Small amounts of electricity, primarily for factories, was generated in the early decades of this century, but hydroelectric power sufficient for widespread domestic use in Kabul alone was not available until the completion of the power station at Sarobi on the Kabul River in 1953. The first electric generators were installed 1911-1913, with the assistance of A.C. Jewett whose letters were subsequently published: **An American Engineer in Afghanistan** (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948). The equipment was hauled by elephant from Peshawar and took five and one-half months to travel 250 miles to its destination north of Kabul. Even today, electricity from oil-powered generators is available only in the larger urban areas beyond the Kabul region. The telephone had, of course, just been invented when the author was in Afghanistan. Some form of telephone may have appeared in Kabul early in this century, but its use was not widespread until after the Second World War. Outside Kabul there are still relatively few telephones, but the system is well maintained and efficiently used by the police. Outside the Kabul area, few private citizens have ever had telephones.

31. There is a flourishing oral literature in Afghanistan, both poetical and historical. Much of this literature was transcribed during the 19th century. It must be noted also that the **Shah Nama** (Book of Kings), the Iranian national epic, was composed from this oral tradition a thousand years ago in Afghanistan, at the Court of Mahmud at Ghazni. High illiteracy in Afghanistan, perhaps as much as 95%, helps create the impression that there is no significant literature. The most important book is, of course, the **Qur'an**, which is in Arabic, but many people can recite large portions of its text. Several kinds of dramatic performance exist, in the form of acting out legends and historical events. They frequently involve movements resembling dance and hence are not equivalent to Western theatrical performances. A vernacular theater does exist, but considered immoral by many, it is often suppressed.

32. Alas, we have seen this change effected. Massive amounts of Western

"aid" to Afghanistan, particularly in the last three decades, enriched the givers more than the receivers and did not, in the main, greatly benefit the people. The vast majority of Afghans have not been particularly interested in the benefits conferred by Western technology, much of which has been of dubious social benefit.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. The mineralogical knowledge evinced here is quite unscientific. Much exploration for minerals has been conducted in Afghanistan during the past half century, and though useful minerals abound in generally small deposits, the infrastructure necessary to capitalize on this wealth has generally been conceded to be too costly to make development of these deposits a profitable venture. Sufficient coal is mined for local consumption, chiefly at Dara-i Suf in the north, but it is soft coal of low grade with a high sulphur content. The Russians are currently exploiting Afghan natural gas, oil, gold, and uranium resources chiefly, but not to the benefit of Afghanistan.

2. Gold is recovered at several localities in Afghanistan (Kokcha River in the north, at Mokur and Kandahar in the south), but the deposits are relatively small and do not produce much wealth. Between 1939 and 1943, an average of 70 lbs. of gold per year was recovered from the Kokcha River Valley, which amounted to less than the cost of retrieving it (Gregorian, *Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, p. 366). Russian operation of the gold deposits near Mokur, and now perhaps elsewhere, is presumably profitable.

3. Proposals to extend railroads into Afghanistan were not favored by the Afghans. They believed they would be of greater use to the British in India than to the Afghans, and might easily be used for military and/or imperialist purposes. See Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, p. 154. Abdur Rahman opposed the introduction of railways: "The greatest safety of Afghanistan lies in its natural impregnable position."

4. Reference is presumably made to fossil beds in association with coal strata. For "iron ore," the author probably means reddish soil which may be iron oxide, or other oxidized minerals.

5. Such promises are confirmed by *mullahs* whenever they declare a conflict to be in defence of Islam. The term *ghazi* was frequently employed by the British simply in the sense of fanatic, or suicidal, fighter, whether or not religiously motivated. Afghans have had ample cause to regard outsiders in very much the same way as the author regards them.

6. The author has in mind the Pashtoon tribes which are the principal inhabitants of the part of Afghanistan he visited. A Persian proverb perhaps best describes their condition: "I and my tribe against the nation. I and my cousins against the tribe. I and my brothers against my cousins. I against my brothers." (quoted in B. English, *The War for a Persian Lady* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971] p. 82)

7. Pathan, Pashtoon, Pakhtun, Pushtun, etc., all designate the same people and these are undoubtedly the Afghans to whom the author refers. He is probably comparing the dress of the Afghan Pashtoon hill tribesman with that of the Peshawar Valley Pathan, but he does not describe how the dress differs.

8. With the fleece inside and embroidered with designs in colored thread on the outside. Sheepskin greatcoats, jackets, and vests were very popular

among the British troops occupying Kabul during the winter of 1879-80. Many are to be seen in the photographs taken by John Burke at Kabul, and they appear as well in the engravings published in the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*. A sketch published in the former, 6 March 1880, p. 229, shows an officer at Kabul dressed in a particularly fine specimen.

9. A full covering, both front and back, worn outside the home. The front of the **chadri** is frequently pulled up to lie over the top of the head (as described by the author) when apart from strangers.

10. Sometimes of striped raw silk, and called **chappan**.

11. **Kohl**, a powdered sulfide of antimony, is employed cosmetically, but also both as a cure for, and prophylaxis against, eye disease. Henna is used as a dye for the nails, the soles of the feet, and palms of the hands, and, chiefly among the elderly, for the hair. It also possesses the dual properties of cosmetic and medicine. Henna dye is made from the leaves of **Lawsonia inermis**.

12. Some of the tattoos are strictly ornamental, while others are magic and/or protective in nature.

13. The description of Afghans (repetitive and contradictory) will be recognized for the stereotype it is. Afghanistan has never been a wealthy land, and alongside the conspicuous opulence of the Indian Mogul princes, Afghans could only be described as paupers.

14. The wearing of furs imported from Russia (if the observation is correct) must have been a matter of status among the most affluent classes, since inexpensive furs are plentiful within Afghanistan. I am aware of no other reference to these small thumb-ring mirrors, but I have seen what I assume to be such objects in Kabul antique shops. Afghans are as fond as anyone of gazing upon themselves in mirrors, but strangely often have difficulty recognizing themselves in photographs. Men carry small round snuff boxes with mirror lids, and the mirrors on the handlebars of motorcycles, which are intended to provide back vision, are often set so that the rider may appreciate the figure he cuts as he speeds over the roads and trails.

15. The urban Afghans believe the nomads to be rich, and certainly some of them are relatively so. Besides having large flocks of sheep and goats, their unrestricted passage between Pakistan and Afghanistan has made it possible for them to conduct a brisk import-export trade, unhampered by tariffs. During the 1970's, Japanese television sets destined for the black market in Russia, were a common item. The settled Afghans also often regard young nomad women as exceptionally beautiful, possibly because they are seldom veiled.

16. Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841) is noted primarily as a painter of portraits and historical subjects. He never traveled to India, much less Afghanistan (though his eldest brother, John, a soldier, died in India in 1825), but in 1841 he visited the Ottoman territories of the Levant and Egypt, and painted a portrait of the young Turkish Sultan Abdul Mejid. On the return journey he fell sick after having eaten fruit at Malta. Gravely ill by the time his ship reached Gibraltar, he died within an hour of setting sail from this port and was buried at sea. His burial was the subject of a celebrated large oil painting by Joseph Turner, now in the Tate Gallery: "Peace - Burial at Sea." The standard biography of Wilkie is Allan Cunningham, **The Life of Sir David Wilkie**, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1843). Thomas (1749-1840) and William

(1769-1837) Daniell traveled and painted in India between the years 1786 and 1794. M. Shellim, *India and the Daniells* (London: Incheape & Co., 1979) has published a catalogue of their oil paintings. The more numerous aquatints have been published by M. Archer, *Early Views of India. The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

17. *Henry IV*, Part 1, act 5, scene 4, line 146.

18. The wood is certainly not teak, but probably another hard wood, perhaps deodar. There are no commercial stands of teak north of Goa on the Malabar Coast; small quantities of deodar exist at its northern limit in the warmer valleys of southeastern Afghanistan.

19. To my knowledge, there is no stringed instrument of this name in Afghanistan. It may be a regional term for an instrument generally known by another name.

20. "A special group of individuals called *malang* [not *mullahs*] wander about the countryside. They are holy men thought to be touched by the hand of Allah. Some go naked, moving with the season; others dress in women's clothes; still others wear elaborate, often outlandish, concoctions of their own design. Usually Afghan, Iranian, Pakistani, or Indian Sufi Muslims, *malang* travel from place to place, fed, honored, and at times feared by the local population, or at least held in awe. Often, they spout unintelligible gibberish, words they claim to be from Allah or a local saint. At other times, they quote from the *Qor'an*, usually incorrectly." (L. Dupree, *Afghanistan* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973] p. 107)

21. Since the Indian *seer* at this time was roughly equivalent to 2.2 lbs., several *seers* is a lot of sweets.

22. Such boats are still in use on the Tigris River at Baghdad. "Feroze Shah" may be the Delhi Sultan Firuz Shah III, but his rule was A.D. 1351-1388. "Toongbudra" is the Tungabhadra River, Madras Presidency, South India.

23. The Kunar River flows south and southwest from the mountains of Nuristan, joining the Kabul River to the west of Jalalabad. The village of Torakhwa is about 12 miles (direct) southeast of Kunar. The author's brief excursion into Nuristan, at the time still known by its pre-conversion name of Kafiristan, must be among the earliest made by Europeans.

24. Sir George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, Ltd., 1896) contains much concerning the funerary practices of the Kafirs. His interest in the Kafirs grew out of his service in the Second Afghan War, when "the people of Kafiristan had first excited my curiosity"

25. The structure described is not the Kafir burial site briefly mentioned. See following note.

26. A large mausoleum, probably square, of customary Islamic plan, with a principal and several secondary graves in a subterranean chamber. The author surely exaggerates the height of the arches. It is not uncommon for earth to be brought from holy sites for placement on graves. When the Shi'a pray, they touch their foreheads to small, compressed cakes of earth from Kerbala or Meshed, or some other Shi'a holy shrine, which are provided in mosques, and which they place upon the ground for their prayers.

27. These personages are believed to have been especially holy during their lives, or to have been associated with desirable, if not miraculous, occurrences. Their simple tombs are often ornamented with colorful stones, animal horns, and tall poles with numerous colored pennons, making them quite picturesque.

28. These "covered Piazzas" are probably *iwans*, rooms open at one side to the courtyard. There may be one in the center of each side of the courtyard. They serve as reception areas, shaded ones in the summer, those in full sun in the winter.

29. **Chadris** (?), the head to foot cloth wrap with which women cover themselves when outside the home, or in the presence of non-family men. The house described reflects considerable wealth. The great amount of wood used in its construction suggests regional architectural variation based on local availability of timber.

30. Russia was the earliest source of industrial products for Afghanistan, by way of Persia, or directly from Bokhara and Khiva. There was no telegraph line from India into Afghanistan until the Second Afghan War, by which time news from India most assuredly reached Afghanistan faster than news from Russia, to which there was no telegraph line at this date.

31. Kushk railhead of the Murghab Valley Railway. While the Russians were very active in building railroads in Turkistan, the line to Kushk was not completed until 1898. For a discussion of the building of this line, see A. Hamilton, **Afghanistan**, Chapt. 5.

32. Close ties with Turkey have existed for a long time. The Turks have long served as military advisors to the Afghan army.

33. **La ilāh illa Allāh, Mohāmmad Rasūl Allāh.** (There is no god but God, and Mohammad is His Prophet.)

34. **La ilāh illa Allāh, huwa waḥdahu lā sharīk lah.** The translation is correct.

35. The young man is well informed. The lunar, or **Qamari**, calendar. The starting date for this calendar is not precisely determined, but there are traditions for July 15/16 and September 20, A.D. 622, representing either the date of Mohammad's departure from Mecca, or his arrival in Medina.

CHAPTER SIX

1. The Bahmanid rulers of the Northern Deccan, A.D. 1347-1527.

2. Major-General Sir H.T. Macpherson, K.C.B., V.C., B.S.C., throughout the first campaign commanded the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Peshawar Valley Field Force. He served throughout the second campaign, 1879-80, as well. See **The Second Afghan War, Abridged Official Account**, pp. 62-67, for the action against Asmatulla, March-April 1879. This was the campaign in which Major Wigram Battye was killed and Lieutenant W.R.P. Hamilton earned the V.C.

3. Brigadier-General Sir C.J.S. Gough, K.C.B., V.C., commanded the Cavalry Brigade, 1st Division, Peshawar Valley Field Force, throughout the first phase of the war.

4. Lieutenant N.C. Wiseman, 1st Battalion, 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment, killed in the action at Futtehabad 2 April 1879.
5. This standard is not now in the Regimental Museum at Leicester.
6. Colonel Lord Ralph Kerr, C.B., 10th (P.W.O. Royal) Hussars, commanded the Cavalry Brigade in the action at Futtehabad 2 April 1879.
7. Captain M. E. Wood, 10th (P.W.O. Royal) Hussars, joined the regiment at Jalalahad 29 January 1879, and served through the remainder of the first phase of the war.
8. Colonel C.C. Johnson, Officiating Quarter-Master-General in India.
9. *Nacoda*, *nacoder*, *nakhuda*, etc., the master of a native vessel.
10. *Dubber*, *duppa*, *dubbah*, a large oval vessel, made of green buffalo hide, which, after drying and stiffening, is used for holding and transporting ghee, or oil.
11. *Budgerow*, a lumbering keelless barge.
12. A play on words: *gin*, or *jinn*, ghosts or evil spirits, as opposed to the spirit gin.
13. Captain W. Peacocke, RE, served as Assistant Field Engineer, 1st Division, Peshawar Valley Field Force, during the first phase of the war. The author is expanding a story he has already told, and with the same diffidence as before (see Chapt. 3, n.19).
14. This occurred before the war which commenced 20 November 1878.
15. Ali Musjid, on the summit of a low peak commanding the Khyber Pass, some five miles from the Peshawar Valley entrance, was substantially destroyed during the opening days of the campaign in late November 1878. Photographs taken by John Burke testify to the accuracy and intensity of the artillery bombardment. It was reconstructed and refortified by the British after their capture of it. This paragraph jumps nimbly over several subjects of the author's observation and interest.
16. The bulk of this tonnage must certainly have been fruit; one can hardly imagine one and one-half tons of flowers being delivered daily in Peshawar!
17. There was much popular sentiment at the time for the annexation of Afghanistan to the Indian Empire. Cooler heads throughout the 19th century, however, repeatedly cautioned against such an action. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1835, had expressed himself most strongly in opposition to frontier adventurism: "You may depend on it, that the surest way to draw Russia upon us will be by our meddling with any of the states beyond the Indus." Sir Charles Napier was characteristically more bold: "As to holding Afghanistan, it would be folly equalling that of the attempt to conquer it." Yet the dream of extending the northwest frontier persisted long among some statesmen and military strategists.
18. M. Strage, *Cape to Cairo* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1973), gives a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the construction of this railway.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. **Sambre, sambur**, a stag (*Rusa Aristotelis*); in India the largest.
2. The wild boar inhabits the marshlands of the Helmand Valley and is quite plentiful among the reeds and marshes of the Helmand River delta in southwest Afghanistan. It is not hunted by the Muslim inhabitants of the region who shun all varieties of pig, but in pre-Islamic times boar hunting was popular. Its bones have been identified in archaeological sites belonging to the 1st-3rd centuries A.D.
3. **Bushire**, a port on the east side of the Persian Gulf; the Khugiani hills, a district in the Khyber Pass area; the Kunar River and Valley, extending to the north of the Kabul River, leading into Nuristan and the ranges where the Karakoram and Hindu Kush meet.
4. This may be popular belief. Many grave mounds subside when the small, poorly constructed subterranean vaults collapse, giving the surface appearance of a grave which has been excavated from below. Grave mounds everywhere are covered with pebbles, usually rounded stream-worn ones, or some other ornamental stone, in the belief that this covering protects the grave from animals. But the pebbles are normally too small to afford such protection and must be construed as being primarily ornamental, or as simple markers.
5. Cats are now relatively uncommon in Afghanistan, and I have not in twenty years seen a "Persian" cat in the country. The author does not mention the **Tazi**, or Afghan hound, several varieties of which exist in the country and are much prized. They are used for hunting gazelle in desert regions, but are often kept as pets in other areas.
6. Colonel John Bulkeley Thelwall, C.B., B.S.C., 21st Punjab Native Infantry; Brigadier-General commanding the 2nd Brigade, Kuram Valley Field Force, in 1878. He was invalided to England in February 1879. Since the author clearly was part owner of the bear before the war, the Colonel must have given the bear away earlier in 1878, when he assumed command of the 2nd Brigade.
7. **Nilgai, nilgau, nilghau**, great antelope (*Boselaphus tragocamelus*), but it has other classifications as well.
8. He means the mother resembled a kangaroo dog, a dog used in Australia for hunting kangaroo.
9. On the contrary, the **Illustrated London News** Special Artist W. Simpson organized several outings of this sort, sketching and, in a minor way, excavating at several Buddhist sites, reporting fully on his finds. "Our Special Artist is well known to be an enthusiastic Oriental archaeologist, and he has found leisure during this Afghan campaign, as he did in the Abyssinian expedition, to look at the antiquities, the religious shrines, fragments of buildings or rock-cut chapels and recesses, found on the road to Cabool." **Illustrated London News**, 23 March 1879, p. 279. See also: "Dangers of Archaeology at the Pheel Khana Tope," *ibid.*, 19 April 1879, p. 369.
10. G.W. Steevens, **With Kitchener to Khartum** (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898) p. 70. The reference is to boots which became unserviceable after no more than one month's use in the Sudan. The War Office, it would appear, on looking into the matter, pronounced the boots to be "very good," and that the march of General Gatacre's brigade "over bad ground had

tried them too severely."

11. **Sirat**, a way, road.

12. The Mu'tazilīs are those who profess the doctrine of i'tizāl, a state intermediate between belief and skepticism, and al-Mu'tazila is the name of a great theological school which created the speculative dogmatics of Islam. It was an early schism in the Shi'a ranks. Mu'tazilites is acceptable form.

13. This is local religious interpretation only loosely based on the Qur'an. **Jahannam** refers generally to Hell, al-Sair, or nār, to fire, etc. The placing of peoples in particular regions of Hell is according to local custom.

14. **Jamrat Adan** = **Jannat al-'adan**, Garden of Eden; **Jamrat al Ferdaws** = **Jannat al-Firdaus**, Garden of Paradise; **Jamrat al Mawa** = **Jannat al-mā'wā**, Garden of Shelter/Asylum; **Jamrat al Masin** = **Jannat al-Masi**, Garden of the Anointed.

15. That is, descendants of Mohammad through his daughter Fatima and son-in-law 'Ali. All of these titles, or honorifics, are current throughout the Islamic world and carry different shades of meaning from region to region. It is also true that in Afghanistan the title **sharif** is associated with the Shi'a sect, for which the Imam Husayn is a prominent holy figure. Husayn and his brother Hassan are etymologically the source of the term "Hobson-Jobson."

16. 'Adli, righteous, just; **rafzī**, heretic. Afghans are primarily Sunni, or Orthodox, Muslims, but there is a large Shi'a minority, especially among the Hazaras of central Afghanistan.

17. On the date of the composition of the Qur'an, see the complex argument of P. Crone and M. Cook, **Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). "In any case, with the single exception of a passage in the dialogue between the patriarch and the emir which might be construed as an implicit reference to the Koranic law of inheritance, there is no indication of the existence of the **Koran** before the end of the seventh century." (p.18)

18. The author has obviously reproduced the following list phonetically, in accordance with what he believed he heard; hence, I have let it stand. I have recomposed this list here, using more conventional spellings:

Rauzat az Suffa, by Mir Khvand
Habib al-Siyar, by Mir Khvand
Shah 'Abbas Nama, by Mir Khvand
Life of Nadir Shah, by Mirza Mahdi
Akhlaq-i Nasari, by Nasr ud-Din Tusi
Gulistan, Bustan, and Pand, by Sa'di
Yuzuf and Zulykha, by Jami
Ghazal (Songs) of Hafiz; Leila and Majnun
Works of Rajab (calligrapher)
Masnawi, by Mirza Mir Nasir
A'in-i Akbari, by Abul Fazil

Akbar-Nama, by Abul Fazil
Tawarikh-i Dekn (a local history of the Deccan)
Bagh-i Bahar
Muntakhab al-Hindi
Takht-i Kayhani
Khulasah al-Tawarikh, by Khafi Khan
Muntakhab al-Tawarikh, by Abdul Kabir of Badaun (?)
Torat and Injil (Old and New Testament of the Bible)

19. "During the 19th century there were no relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan apart from occasional special missions [at the time of the First and Second Afghan war, and in connection with the several boundary demarcation commissions]. After the turn of the century and up to the outbreak of the Third Afghan War in 1919, Britain maintained a special Indian

(and Muslim) agent in Kabul but it was only after the signing of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 that full diplomatic relations, providing for the exchange of resident missions, were established." (K. Himsworth, **A History of the British Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan** [Kabul: United States Information Service, 1976] p. 1) Lieutenant-Colonel (later Sir) Francis Humphreys became the first Minister in 1922. It is popularly believed that Lord Curzon, then British Foreign Secretary, decreed that the Embassy building in Kabul was to be the finest in Asia. It may well have been. Because of the long history of hostility between Afghanistan and Britain, the Embassy was to be constructed outside the capital. It occupies 25 acres, then two and one-half miles north of Kabul, but now well within the city. Construction was completed in 1927. Many of the residences on the grounds closely resemble houses one might encounter in Surrey, and there are splendid gardens and tennis courts. Until the recent tragic events, the annual tennis tournament of Kabul was held on the Embassy courts, and lavish buffet meals were served during this event. The Institute of the Society for Afghan Studies was housed within one of the Embassy compounds until its forced closure after the Russian invasion of the country.

20. Not everyone with the British forces in Afghanistan believed that slavery did not exist. John Burke photographed at Kabul a group of "Slaves from Kafiristan" (Burke neg. no. 284) in the spring of 1880. The inhabitants of Kafiristan in eastern Afghanistan were forcibly converted to Islam in the 1890's, under the reign of Abdur Rahman. As non-believers, they fell outside any loosely held religious proscription of slavery. The Shi'a Hazara, from the Hindu Kush region of central Afghanistan, had earlier frequently been enslaved. At this time, slaves were doubtless procured from other areas as well, and there is no reason to doubt the author's informant. While slavery was officially abolished by Abdur Rahman in 1895, it is difficult to tell how strictly the prohibition was enforced. There are still today, in southwest Afghanistan, men (and perhaps women) in the service of landlords who were purchased as children from across the Pakistan frontier. The number of African slaves was probably never great and there is no clearly black African minority among the Afghan population today.

21. Masks of this type, of black leather, or sometimes of stiffened cloth, are especially common in the Emirates along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. To a lesser degree, they exist in the region of Bandar Abbas on the Persian side of the Gulf.

22. **Seedy, siddies, siddee**, etc., Muslim African Blacks.

23. To my knowledge, no other author has reported such numbers of Black Africans in Afghanistan. They are not evident among the population today.

24. Afghan law was, and is, a combination of the **Shar'ia** (based on the **Qur'an**), official edict, and secular precedent.

25. **Kazi, cazee, kajee**, a judge.

26. **Kotwal, cotwal, cutwaul**, etc., police officer, superintendent of police, native town magistrate. The author's two initial categories define briefly the governmental and law enforcement establishment. This is followed by 17 examples of judicial procedure, legal prohibitions, and prescribed punishments.

27. Generally by stoning to death.

28. The author is referring to the divisions of the day marked by the times of prayer. The Qur'an is relatively imprecise on this matter apart from exhorting the faithful to pray at both ends of the night and of the day. In Afghanistan there are normally five prayers (*ṣalāt*) each day: at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and an hour after sunset. The *muezzin* calls the faithful to prayer at the appointed times; the *imam* leads the prayers; a *mullah* is a religious instructor learned in the faith.

29. Though confusingly stated, what the author writes is essentially correct. Friday, the holy day, begins after the last prayer on Thursday, and ends with the prayers after sunset on Friday. In practice, however, the night between prayers is only loosely attached to the day, and during the yearly month of fasting food and drink may be taken after the sunset prayers. Sometimes, during this month, an extra prayer call is added an hour before sunrise so that people may be awakened to eat before resuming fast. The Afghans also now employ a solar calendar.

30. By Persian, the author probably means Tajiks, as opposed to Pashtoon/Pathan which he identifies as Afghan. The language of the Afghan Tajiks is Dari (a dialect of Farsi/Persian), whereas the language of the Pashtoons is Pashto. Coffee is rarely seen now in these bazaar shops; tea is the principal beverage and these shops are now called teahouses.

31. I have been unable to confirm the existence of such a sect.

32. The author may be describing adherents to the Armenian church in Afghanistan, of which we know comparatively little. Several travelers in the first half of the 19th century mention the Armenians and the existence of a clergy among them, including descriptions of their tombstones in a small Christian burial ground outside the south side of the Kabul Bala Hissar. There was a thriving Armenian merchant colony in Kabul by 1670. The Persian invader Nadir Shah settled 200-300 Armenian families taken from the Armenian community of Julfa at Isfahan in 1737, to encourage trade between Persia and Mogul India. I.N. Allen, *Diary of a March through Afghanistan, with the Troops under the Command of General Sir William Nott, K.C.B.* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1843) p. 312, recounts a visit in 1842 to the only Christian church known to have existed in Afghanistan: "...a small dark building...carpeted, and kept clean, apparently with great care. Its aspect was due east to west, and an altar stood at the east end [!], surmounted by a small picture of the Holy Family, much dimmed by smoke and dust. Upon the altar were six candlesticks, two small crosses, and two copies of the Holy Gospels. In front, without the altar rails, was a small desk, on which lay a book of Daily Prayer, in Armenian. Our guides showed me a volume containing the gospels in Armenian, and another with the epistles, also a small English pocket Bible with clasps, Oxford edition, which I think was said to have been bought from an Hindoostanee." They told the Reverend Allen that their community numbered only thirty-five souls in four families. This church was destroyed during the Second Afghan War, and the few remaining Armenian families were expelled in 1897 by the Amir Abdur Rahman. See Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, p. 65f.

33. The author undoubtedly refers to Indian Christians from the vicinity of the Portuguese territory of Goa.

34. The Archbishop Menezes of Goa, in 1599, held a synod at Udayamperur (Diamper), a village twelve miles southeast of Cochin, at which tenets of the Syrian Christians were pronounced heretical and their service-books purged of all Nestorian phrases.

35. Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze, *L'Histoire du Christianisme dans les Indes* (La Haye, 1724). Later editions were published both in The Hague and Amsterdam. The author, whose name is variously printed as de La Croze and de Lacroze, lived 1661-1739.

36. The author appears to confuse the Nestorian and Roman Catholic churches here.

37. The author has previously described textile printing with wooden blocks, and a somewhat different process. Brass blocks were probably more common than steel.

38. Anil, a fabaceous shrub (*Indigofera suffruticosa*), producing indigo dye, native to the West Indies; later supplanted by the chemical aniline dye.

39. **Band**, barrage. **Bands** in the Helmand River (and others) are of simple but ingenious construction. Wooden poles are driven into the river bed at the spot where it is desired to construct a **band**. Loosely woven matting of green **tāghaz** bark (**tāgh**, **tā-gaz**, **tār-gaz**, a Chenopodiaceous plant *Haloxylon ammodendron*, not a true tamarisk, but commonly referred to as such) is placed against these poles on the upstream side. On the downstream side, loosely woven **tāghaz** bags filled with rocks are placed in the river until they form a barrage as high as the poles. While intentionally porous, such a barrage may raise a pool of water a meter or more above the normal stream level. The **band** is connected to one bank of the river, but just before reaching the other side it turns to run parallel with the bank, creating a separate, slowly flowing channel with less fall than the river bed. At an appropriate spot, say a slight outward curve of the bank, or a lower point, this elevated channel will be turned into a dug canal, and as the drop of the canal bed is less than that of the river valley, within several miles the water will be raised to, or above, the ground surface and be available for gravity flow into the fields. These simply constructed **bands** are easily damaged by the spring floods, but just as easily repaired. In the case of the **band** described by the author, the purpose seems to have been to create an elevated pool from which water could more easily be lifted by mechanical means.

40. The author stated earlier that the Afghans did not fish. He is correct here in stating that they do. They also collect fish that become trapped in **bands** (see above) and use poison.

41. At this date 40 **seer** probably was equivalent to approximately 88 lbs.

42. "I am but a poor and devout man, but may you be victorious!"

43. Unidentified; not Lieutenant-Colonel R.C.W. Mitford who served with the 14th Regiment Bengal Cavalry throughout both phases of the war.

44. *Nerium odorum*.

45. Fine sands obtained from the Jalalabad region are used in polishing travertine carvings at the factories at Kabul and at Lashkar Gah in southwest Afghanistan. Today Herat, rather than Jalalabad, is noted for its glass production.

46. Milkthistle? Milkweed? Milkwort?

47. The Afghans did store powder in round-bottomed jars at this time. John

Burke photographed a number of these from the Kabul Bala Hissar magazine in the autumn of 1879. They have no leather covering.

48. The Afghans had many more light guns than the number given by the author. He may be referring only to those captured, or seen by him, in the region between the Khyber Pass and Jalalabad. In the autumn of 1879 John Burke photographed at Kabul a much greater number of captured Afghan guns inside the British cantonment at Sherpur, outside Kabul. The author himself, a little later, refers to 210 guns having been captured at Kabul.

49. Mineral salts, if alkaline, combine with the clay to make very hard, durable bricks.

50. The mud of pakhsa walls is laid wet inside wooden framing two to three feet high. When the mud has dried the framing is moved up, narrowed very slightly, and a second layer is added. Remarkably thin walls of considerable height can be made in this fashion. Sometimes they are topped with a course or two of baked brick as protection against rain erosion, but normally they are more simply covered with straw and mud which can be renewed each year.

51. The author must refer to some other hardwood, perhaps deodar. See Chapt. 5, n.18.

52. While it is true that repeated Muslim conquests of northern India resulted in much wealth being carried back to Afghanistan, it has never been Muslim custom to bury precious objects with the dead. Precious metals were eventually melted for re-use. In Afghanistan large precious stones were simply lost, sold, or recut into smaller ones. The Persian Royal jewels in the vault of the Bank Melli in Tehran were largely taken from India. The fascinating history of the Koh-i-Noor diamond, seized at Delhi by the Persian invader Nadir Shah Afshar in 1739, may serve as a rare documented instance of what must have happened to some of the wealth looted from India. It first appears in 1526 as a gift to the Mogul ruler Humayun. Nadir Shah had not long to enjoy it, for in 1747 it was stolen by the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Durrani, who passed it to his sons Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja. "Ranjit Singh took the diamond from Shah Shuja in 1813. The British appropriated the gem after the defeat of the Sikhs and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. Henry Lawrence (later Lord Lawrence) placed the boxed diamond in his watch pocket and forgot about it until later informed that the Viceroy had arranged to have it safely transported [by Captain Frederick Mackeson] as a gift from the East India Company to Queen Victoria. In panic, Lawrence asked his servant if he had noticed a box in his waistcoat pocket. The imperturbable Indian produced the piece of 'glass' he had saved. Three British queens have worn the Koh-i-Nur in their crowns (Victoria; Mary, Consort of George V; Elizabeth, Consort of George VI), for it is still considered unlucky for males. Recut in 1852, the gem now weighs 106 1/16 carats." Originally its weight was 279 9/16 carats. See L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, p. 368.

53. Hindus of Kabul are still engaged in lending and changing money. Sikhs are prominent in the cloth trade.

54. Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva.

55. It would require a separate essay to explicate the Hindu pantheon and theology here. For those readers keen on expanding upon the author's simplified list of deities (with eccentric spellings), the following books should be consulted: J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1941); R.G. Bhandakar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious*

Systems (Strassburg, 1913); T.A.G. Rao, **Elements of Hindu Iconography**, 4 vols. (Madras, 1914-16).

56. Muslim influence on the architectural style of Hindu temples is less obvious than local Indian influence on mosques of the Mogul period. It is possible, however, that the Hindu temple of Jalalabad had more Islamic features than similar temples in India.

57. Muslims also eat only with the right hand.

58. **Lota**, the small spheroidal brass pot used by Hindus for drinking, and sometimes for cooking.

59. Twigs from the **nim** (neem) tree (*Azadirachta indica*).

60. Lieutenant S.W.T. Roberts; photograph and biographical memoir in Shadbolt, **The Afghan Campaigns of 1878-80**, Biographical Division, p. 183f.

61. The photograph of this plaque appears on the reverse of page 218 of the manuscript, with the following notation:

"Total loss of the Battalion during 1878, 79, 80:

Officers		Men	
14	---	221.	Killed
5	---	114.	wounded
Total	19	---	335

and Colonel Sir A.H. Cobbe severely wounded (since dead)."

In modern warfare the ratio of killed to wounded among the fighting force would be quite the reverse. However, casualties among non-combatants would today be much greater than a century ago.

62. **Juzzailchis**, local Afghan troops armed with the **juzzail**, a locally made long-barrelled flintlock rifle.

63. Surgeon-Major John Wallace, Army Medical Department, in charge of the Field Hospital at Landi Kotal, died of cholera 16 July 1879; Reverend J. Endoven, Roman Catholic Chaplain, died of cholera ? July 1879; Major John R. Dyce, 11/9 RA, died of cholera 14 July 1879; Captain John Henry Gamble died at Landi Kotal 14 July 1879, aged 35.

64. Incomplete sentence, probably to have been concluded: "caused the cancellation of such plans."

65. The army under the command of Major-General Sir F.S. Roberts, V.C., had occupied the Kabul Valley, after a series of engagements, by 10 October 1879. Roberts took possession of the Kabul Bala Hissar 12 October 1879.

66. The attack on Sherpur occurred 11 December 1879. The author has greatly compressed events here.

67. The Amir Mohammad Yakub Khan, son of Amir Sher Ali, was born about 1849, reigned from December 1878 until his abdication in October 1879. He was sent into exile in India in December 1879 and remained there the rest of his life, dying in 1923, a year after the first permanent British diplomatic mission was established at Kabul.

68. Abdur Rahman Khan, son of Amir Mohammad Afzal (r. 1866-67), grandson of Amir Dost Mohammad (r. 1826-39; 1843-63), had been living as an exiled pensioner in Russia since 1868. During the British occupation of Kabul, Abdur

Rahman exerted his efforts to gain the allegiance of the Afghan tribal leaders. On 20 July 1880 he was proclaimed Amir of Kabul at a tribal council (jirgah). Roberts was opposed to the recognition of Abdur Rahman as Amir of Afghanistan, but Lepel Griffin, who had been sent from India to conclude a treaty with Abdur Rahman if possible, found him to have "an extremely intelligent face, brown eyes, a pleasant smile, and frank courteous, manners." The disaster at Maiwand on 27 July 1880, and Roberts's precipitous departure for Kandahar, was followed on 11 August 1880 by British formal recognition of Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul. It would be several years before the Amir controlled all of the territory within the yet-to-be-established borders of present Afghanistan. Upon recognition, the British granted him the sum of about 2,500,000 rupees (some of which had been in the treasury of Yakub Khan) and agreed to an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 rupees, plus guns and munitions.

69. Waste in the guise of cost-efficiency is not a new concept. The British army continued its occupation of Kandahar until April 1881. Some wanted to hold the city permanently as a forward outpost. When the troops left, they rolled out the guns and surplus shells and blasted away at the ruins of the Old City where ninety years later a British team of archaeologists were to excavate. See "A Parting Shot at Candahar," *The Graphic*, 28 May 1881, p. 524.

70. It may have appeared thus to the author, writing in 1898 and 1899, but in fact, the several boundary commissions working before and after this date did succeed in establishing recognition of the southern borders substantially as they had been left at the end of the war, with the Khyber Pass included within British territory, however tenuous the hold upon it might at times have been, as well as the Kuram Valley which had been seized by General Roberts in the first days of the war.

71. The official returns give the figure as 135 officers (including one Political Officer, one Chaplain, and twelve medical officers); the author is including in his figure those who died of sickness between the two phases of the war. The cost of the war was officially put at £19,500,000, exclusive of amounts paid to the Amir.

72. Many believed this to be so at the time and there are dozens of books and scores of pamphlets designed to fan the flames of Russophobia. The artist Frederic Villiers reports a conversation he had with Lord Roberts of Kandahar, then Commander-in-Chief in India, about campaigning beyond the northwest frontier (*Peaceful Personalities and Warriors Bold* [London and New York, 1907] p. 148):

"When Will it be?"

"Possibly next year; and I hope, Mr. Villiers, if it comes off, that you will join my staff."

"You are very kind, general; I shall be delighted; but with whom will be the fighting?"

The commander-in-chief looked at me with real astonishment, and I felt myself squirm under his cold, grey gaze, for I thought there was a slight glint of contempt in it at my evident crass stupidity.

"Why, with Russia, of course," he quickly replied.

73. Kharg Island, near the head of the Persian Gulf, was first occupied by the British in 1838 as part of their successful attempt to force the Persians to lift their 10-month siege of Herat whose defence was being led by the remarkable young Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger of the Bombay Artillery. An especially lively account of this affair, and of early British involvement in

Persia, is given by Barbara English, **The War for a Persian Lady**.

74. Something of the sort was to take place at the time of the First World War a few years hence. See Arnold Wilson, **S.W. Persia, a Political Officer's Diary, 1907-1914** (London: Oxford University Press, 1941) for an interesting account of the period immediately preceding the war.

75. Unidentified.

76. At the time the author wrote, all of these cities were firmly under the control of the single Amir Abdur Rahman. There had been plans to build the railway from Chaman on the border to Kandahar. When the line was constructed through the Bolan Pass to Quetta it was for a time referred to as the "Kandahar Railway."

77. Battle of Mohammerah, on the Hafar Channel between the Karun River and the Shatt-al-Arab, at the head of the Persian Gulf, March 1857.

78. The Persians are Shi'a, the Afghans predominantly Sunni Muslims of the Hanifi school. Of their feeling of invincibility, history speaks for itself.

79. The Germans were, of course, highly interested in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, but their concerns were adequately countered by Britain's own moves in these areas. The port of Bandar Abbas lies on the Persian side of the Straits of Hormuz, and though strategically positioned it had not been greatly reinforced since the Portuguese built their forts at Muscat and on the island of Hormuz in the 16th century.

80. Lady Roberts would have agreed with these sentiments, and she was very active in establishing canteens for the British troops in India where alcohol was not served and where she hoped the soldiers would be influenced by a higher moral tone.

81. Colorful language among the troops, the reader will be relieved to learn, has not altogether disappeared.

82. Brigadier-General Sir C.M. MacGregor, **The Defence of India: a Strategical Study** (Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1884), believing the Russians were planning, even as he wrote, to launch their attack upon India, in this extraordinary document set forth an even more ambitious and highly detailed plan for a pre-emptive strike by England, Germany, Austria, Turkey, and China against Russia and France, having "nothing that would appeal either to French cupidity or vanity without at the same time ruining ourselves." (p. 231) He envisioned the need for a much greater army in India and at Home: 270,000 if the battle were to be engaged at once; 355,000 if Herat were to be lost; 430,000 if Kandahar and Kabul should also fall; 600,000 "if we have to fight on the Indus" (p. 209). MacGregor was then Quarter-Master-General in India and the Government was not well pleased to have an active member of its military establishment assert such views in print, and steps were taken to suppress the report.

83. The Spanish-American War of 1898-99 in which Spain lost the Philippine Islands, Cuba and other Caribbean Islands.

84. A term which came to be applied in derision at times by supporters of the Forward Policy to those who favored less bellicose diplomatic efforts. Lord Lawrence, who died just as the Second Afghan War was beginning, was particularly opposed to the Forward Policy strategies which involved pushing a

"Scientific Frontier" into Afghanistan.

85. **Dawk/dak gharry/garry**, post carriage.

86. This was probably more in the nature of a British anxiety than a formed Russian plan at this time. The Germans were about to pose a more immediate threat.

87. I have been unable to locate this work which was doubtless popular at the time the author wrote.

88. The Kushk railhead was at the Afghan border directly north of Herat. The railway through the Khyber Pass had not yet been constructed.

89. Extract from **The Standard**, Friday, 10 February 1899, p. 3: "England and Russia: Relations with the Ameer" (From our Correspondent) Moscow, Thursday.

90. The author is being ironic. The Russian conquest of the Tekke Turkomans by General M.D. Skobelyov in 1881 was attended by exceptionally appalling massacre of men, women, and children. It has been estimated that on the day of 24 January no fewer than 20,000 Turkomans were slaughtered, against a loss of fewer than 300 Russians. Fitzroy Maclean, **A Person from England** (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), has written a popular account of the Russian conquest of Turkistan.

91. This is an exaggeration. Afghanistan's northern border with Russia is normally reckoned at about half this number miles.

92. This is the scenario envisioned by Brigadier-General Sir C.M. MacGregor in his report **The Defence of India**.

93. The Amir did enjoy these titles and put them on the title page of his autobiography. Suffering from gout and doubtless other graver maladies, he had not long to live.

94. In 1898 Afghanistan's imports from India amounted to Rs. 2,856,230, while its exports to India were only valued at Rs. 1,291,090. This imbalance was chronic. Gregorian, **The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan**, p. 145.

95. The author was wrong in this supposition. The transfer of power at the death of Abdur Rahman was without incident. His son Habibullah succeeded him.

96. The author has in mind science and industry museums.

Index

The index has been divided into two sections. Because there are so many references in the memoir to the regiments serving in the first phase of the Second Afghan War, a separate military index seemed the best way to cite these. The first part of the index contains all other references, chiefly personal names, toponyms, and principal subjects discussed in the memoir.

The following abbreviations have been used whenever distinction is made in the memoir:

(h) hill	(r) river
(l) lake	(t) town
(m) mountain(s)	(v) valley
(p) pass	

Citations in **bold** type are to illustration captions. Names have been modernized in the index when the initial letter differs from that appearing in the memoir, but the author's spellings have been cross referenced to these.

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The Gordon Creed memoirs, one of the rare father and son combinations covering the 1st and 2nd Afghan Wars, constitute a unique contribution to the literature of the frontier and beyond. While most contemporary accounts are full of the noise of battle and the deeds of the participants, the enduring value of these memoirs — now published for the first time — rests in the careful observations of places, human activities, industries, and in their descriptions of monuments, and of life in the camps of armies on campaign; marked by intimacy, warmth and humour. In this sense, they do not duplicate those earlier memoirs, but contribute valuable additions to our knowledge of British and Afghan life beyond the northwest frontier in an ancient land now in turmoil.

The manuscript has been copied in its entirety including the numerous original sketches inserted in the text and brought into modern-day focus through the scholarly textnotes of Dr William Trousdale who is steeped in the history of Afghanistan and has visited almost every place described in the present work.